

THE STATION OF THE NATION:
*Ghana Television and the Illusion of Public
Service Broadcasting*

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Abstract

Ghana Television (GTV), the national television channel of Ghana has, since its establishment in 1965, struggled to function effectively as a public service broadcaster. As the television wing of the publicly owned Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), which comprises both radio and television, GTV has often had to operate in a political environment characterized by military dictators who sought to use broadcasting as a tool to legitimize themselves. In 1992, Ghana returned to constitutional governance. The natural expectation was to see GBC, and for that matter GTV, transformed into a true public service broadcaster, but this was soon dissipated by the sudden appeal of liberal market ideas in the new political environment.

The media was deregulated, dismantling the monopoly structure of the broadcast market. For the first time, GTV faced competition from commercial television. At the same time, in the general shift towards market oriented policies, government reduced funding for state institutions including GBC. Facing dwindling funds, GTV was forced to compete with the new commercial television stations in both the audience and advertising markets, yet it was expected to pursue public service television goals and not only follow commercial principles.

Even though GBC as a whole was faced with these challenges, this thesis limits itself to television. Combining qualitative and quantitative methods, policies and programming are examined to see how possible it is for GTV to function as a proper public service broadcaster in the face of commercialization and the controlling tendencies of government. The study concludes that existing laws and policies expose GTV to commercial and political pressures, which have implications for its public service broadcasting role. In addition, the absence of a comprehensive accountability mechanism has created a regulatory vacuum. As a result, the critical public service expectations of inclusive programming, national identity and enlightenment are bearing the brunt and GTV is far from the “station of the nation” it claims to be or should be.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AMB	African Media Barometer
AMDI	African Media Development Initiative
ARU	Audience Research Unit
AUB	African Union of Broadcasting
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNN	Cable News Network
C-SPAN	Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network
DW-TV	Deutsche Welle Television
FM	Frequency Modulation
FTA	Free-to-Air
GAMPS	Ghana All Media and Products Survey
GBA	Ghana Bar Association
GBC	Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
GFRCB	Ghana Frequency Registration and Control Board
GJA	Ghana Journalists Association
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey
GMA	Global Media Alliance
GNA	Ghana News Agency
GSE	Ghana Stock Exchange
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GTV	Ghana Television
HDI	Human Development Index
HHI	Herfindahl-Hirschman Index

HIPC	Highly Indebted and Poor Country
IGF	Internally Generated Fund
IMCG	Independent Media Corporation of Ghana
ITV	Independent Television
Metro TV	Metropolitan Entertainment Television
MoI	Ministry of Information
MTN	Mobile Telecommunications Network
NCA	National Communications Authority
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NIRP	National Institutional Renewal Program
NMC	National Media Commission
NPP	New Patriotic Party
OTEC	Oppong Twumasi Electrical Company
PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
PSB	Public Service Broadcasting Service
PSI-DL	Presidential Special Initiative on Distance Learning
PTAR	Primetime Access Rule
PtC	Piece to Camera
RG	Republic of Ghana
RI	Research International
STC	State Transport Corporation
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific Cultural Organization
UHF	Ultra High Frequency
VHF	Very High Frequency
VO	Voice Over

1. Introduction

Introduction

The political history of independent Ghana started with the end of British colonial rule in 1957 and the beginning of nearly four decades of intermittent constitutional governance and military dictatorships that ended in 1992 when the country returned to democracy. Colonialism created a new nation out of an amorphous group of kingdoms, tribes and territories. After independence, broadcasting was seen as a powerful instrument for national integration (Alhassan, 2005; Gadzepko, 1997; Ansah, 1985). In addition, it was central to the new nation's educational efforts, not just in the narrow sense of following a school curriculum, but also in providing information about public and political life (Ansah, 1985). With its role defined, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) was established as a public service, along the lines of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) model; a non-commercial, publicly owned monopoly committed to the public interest. GBC initially operated radio services only. It added television in 1965 when Ghana Television (GTV) was inaugurated. Even though GBC is still made up of GTV and fifteen FM radio stations, the focus of this thesis is on television.

Ghana Television's understanding of its public service status is reflected in one of its bylines, "the station of the nation." Historically, however, the ability for GTV to function effectively as a public service has been hampered by successive governments who have sought to control both the administration and program content of broadcast television, not for reasons of meeting the ideals of public service broadcasting (PSB), but to serve as part of their propaganda machinery (Gadzepko, 1997; Ansah 1991; Ansah, 1985). On Ghana's return to multi-party democracy in 1992, PSB gained renewed importance because of its critical role in democracy. This role is underscored by Mervin (1998:6) who argues that "if people are to govern themselves in any meaningful sense, they must be reasonably well-informed."

The new political environment of the 1990s was a product of increased agitations for a free and open society towards the end of the 1980s. At the same time, it facilitated calls for the reform of broadcasting. There were calls from within GBC for reforms because of outdated equipment, inappropriate practices and inadequate funding (GMA-BDC, 2000) and from outside GBC by civil society groups, particularly, the Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) for GBC to be transformed into a true public service. The transformation happened,

although partially. One aspect of PSB was addressed when the National Media Commission (NMC), a public institution, was set up to insulate state owned media from external influence. However, government interpreted the reduction of its role in broadcasting to mean a reduction of state funds to GBC. In pursuit of market policies, it curtailed funding for state owned enterprises, culminating in the Subvented Agencies Act, 2006. The revenue squeeze pushed GTV hard towards commercialization, creating a new threat to its public service role. The threat comes from the fact that commercial broadcasting packages audiences and sells access to these audiences to advertisers with profit maximization as its primary motive (Garnham, 1983). And since the production and transmission of programs has a direct relationship with the way broadcasting is organized, the commercial logic potentially excludes other logics such as cultural, political and social welfare (Picard, 2002; Doyle, 2002). Without clear and coherent guidelines, GTV is pursuing commercialization with valor (Alhassan, 2005). On the other hand, the old threat of political pressure still looms.

Research Questions

GTV can neither be described as a true public service nor commercial channel. It is in transition, caught between the combined threats of political and commercial pressures. The broadcasting institution that will finally emerge will depend on “explicit government policies” and the economic environment (McChesney, 2007:1440). The extent of commercial or/and political influence on GTV is an issue of interest. Although this issue keeps coming up in public debates, a systematic examination of how these factors affect the role of GTV as a public service broadcaster has mostly been missing in both academic and public discourse. The objective of this thesis is to describe and explain how the combined issues of politics and commerce have affected the expected role of GTV. The key question is:

What will it take to transform GTV into a proper public service broadcaster?

To investigate this question this thesis further asks the questions;

- *What legal and policy environment does GTV operate in?*
- *To what extent does the legal and policy environment facilitate broadcast operations?*
- *What types of programs does GTV broadcast?*
- *How can GTV function effectively in the face of political and economic pressures?*

Background

The broadcasting system that exists in a given country is negotiated between the social, political and economic environment. It is neither exclusively determined by the market nor the state, but depends on clearly articulated policies that define the roles of various actors (McChesney, 2007). In order to understand the current state of GTV, it is important to examine the socio-economic and political environment within which GTV operates. It is also important to look at the historical context within which public service broadcasting has developed in Ghana. A good understanding of these issues will inform any ideas of how to make the national broadcaster adhere to a fully fledged public service agenda.

The Political Environment

Ghana is a democratic country with an executive Presidency separate from an independent Judiciary and a unicameral Legislature. The Legislature is split between two political parties; the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Other smaller political parties usually have a combined presence of less than ten (10) seats in the two hundred and thirty (230) member parliament. The President and members of the legislature are elected to a term of four years with a limit of two terms for the President. Ghana is generally free and the rule of law exists. Before 1992, the country was under the dictatorship of a military government for eleven years. Its political history is summarized below:

1957 – Political independence from British colonial rule as the first sub-Saharan African country to achieve independence. The first President was Kwame Nkrumah.

1966 – Military coup

1969 – Return to constitutional rule

1972 – Military coup

1978 – Palace coup: Military government restructured

1979 – Military coup

1979 – Return to constitutional rule

1981 – Military coup

1992 – Return to constitutional rule: The military regime, Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) transforms into National Democratic Congress (NDC) and wins elections.

1996 – NDC re-elected

2000 – NPP wins elections. First ever transfer of power to an opposition party through democratic means.

2004 – NPP re-elected

2008 – NDC returns to power through the ballot box.

Social and Economic Environment

There are ten (10) administrative regions subdivided into one hundred and seventy (170) districts. In the year 2000, a census recorded a population of 18.9 million, estimated to be about 24 million in 2009 of which the Akans, Mole-Dagbons, Ewes and Ga/Dangmes constitute 49%, 17%, 13% and 8% respectively. These ethnic groups are further split into more tribes. About 44% of the population lives in rural areas (GSS, 2009). English is the official language, but there are nine (9) government sponsored languages and more than a hundred other languages and dialects (Bodomo, 1996). Two thirds of the population claim to be Christians, 15% Muslims and 8% practice traditional religion. The rest are made up of other religions and people with no religious affiliations (CIA factbook, 2010).

According to the 2000 census, 57.8% of the population above fifteen (15) years can read and write with males more likely to be educated than females. A survey in 2008 by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) revealed that three quarters of the population have access to clean drinking water, although less than a quarter (20.1%) of the population has water running through their taps at home. More than half of the population has to travel for about thirty minutes to fetch water and a quarter spend more than that time to get access to clean water. Only 56% of the entire population has access to electricity, but there is no security of supply. Power outages are rampant, can occur several times in a day and can last for several hours at a time. Electricity supply is concentrated in the urban areas (83.8% of total supply). Not surprisingly, only 20.7% of rural households own television sets in contrast with the 67.1% of urban households. In all, less than half (42.9%) of households in Ghana have TV sets. The viewing experience is hardly a personal affair, because the mean family size is 3.7, yet 43.5% of the population lives in a single room. A further 30.3% share two rooms and only a quarter has three or more rooms (GSS, 2009). Communal viewing is commonplace. Groups of people gather in front of TV sets placed at store fronts or outside TV repair shops for free viewing.

Ghana opted for the Highly Indebted and Poor Country (HIPC) program in 2002. Agriculture is central to its economy, accounting for 35% of GDP and employing about 55%

of the workforce (GSS 2009). Unemployment is at 11% (CIA factbook, 2010). Between 1990 and 2005, the UNDP (2009) reports that 44.8% of the population lived on less than 1USD a day while a further two out of three people (78.5%) lived on less than 2USD a day. Ghana is ranked 152 on the Human Development Index as at 2008 (UNDP, 2009). Its major exports are cocoa and gold. With the recent discovery of oil, Ghana is set to add one more product to its exports.

The above shows a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious country with a checkered political history and dire economic and social conditions. It is within these diverse cultural and challenging political and economic contexts that GTV is expected to function as a public service broadcaster.

A Historical Overview

Historically, there has always been the promise of public service television. The practice is however a different story. Public service broadcasting dates back to colonial times, but has never been fully functional and this is discussed below. Some of the issues raised did not strictly follow the time blocks presented. The time frames have been used for easier discussion and to provide an impression of how the nation has flirted with the idea of public service broadcasting at various times in its history.

1931 – 1965: Station ZOY to GBC – A Pre-History of Public Service TV

Public service broadcasting started in colonial Gold Coast in 1935. ZOY, a radio station with a name, which no one appears to know its origin or meaning, began broadcast on July 31 (GBC, 1985). Similar to the arguments advanced on the incorporation of the BBC as a public institution (McDonnell 1991), the Governor of the Gold Coast (as Ghana was known then) argued that the benefits of public service broadcasting outweighed any possibilities of profit that may arise from a commercial venture (Ansah, 1985). Station ZOY, therefore, carried some local music and news in some local languages even though programming was predominantly a relay of the Empire Service from London. The technology at that time was the wired rediffusion system, which allowed the colonial government to lock-in its listeners. As a result, the colonial government did not only regulate entry, it also controlled the message. Broadcasting was annexed to the government Public Relations Department (now Information Services Department) (GBC, 1985). Post-colonial governments were to learn from this and keep broadcasting on a tight leash.

Broadcasting served three major purposes: bringing the different ethnic groups together on one platform, supplementing education and as a government propaganda tool. After independence in 1957, broadcasting goals did not deviate too far from these.

Gold Coast Broadcasting System became Ghana Broadcasting System in accordance with the country's name change on independence. On the 30th Anniversary of Station ZOY, television was inaugurated. A team sponsored by the Friederich Ebert Foundation arrived in Ghana to train local staff to produce programs in agriculture, the sciences and vocational training. Television was seen as a major tool to supplement the young country's education and not to cater for "cheap entertainment nor commercialism" (Nkrumah, 1965). A year later, Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown in a coup and commercialization was authorized in 1967. Ghana Broadcasting System became Ghana Broadcasting Corporation in 1968, following incorporation.

1966 – 1995: Three Decades of Stagnation

Unlike radio, which was established about a decade after radio broadcast started in the west (BBC radio started in 1922), television broadcast appeared much later in Ghana. It was expected to offer programming to reflect local culture. Significantly, from a starting point of about half of its broadcasts, by 1969 all of GTV's programs were local and continued to be mainly local throughout the 1980s. Foreign programs constituted only about 10% of programming (Nuviadenu, 2005). Although programming was multi-linguistic, they were centrally produced and broadcast from the Broadcasting House in Accra emphasizing a sense of a national institution rather than regional or ethnic. This national unity and development objectives that drove broadcast policies at that time have been criticized for giving Ghanaian governments the impetus to maintain strict control of broadcasting. "National integration was mistaken for synchronization and homogenization of thought," where dissent was treated as subversion and was often met with harsh penalties (Alhassan 2005: 217).

Like many post colonial African states, the period following independence in Ghana was characterized by rampant coup d'états and authoritarian regimes, which out of fear of the power of broadcasting, kept GTV on a tight leash through the Information Ministry (Gadzekpo, 1997; Ansah, 1991). Diversity and program innovation suffered alongside infrastructure development. It was not until the 1980s that some attention was paid to broadcast infrastructure. The decision was taken to rehabilitate GBC in 1983 and in the following year, the Television Studio Color Project was started (GBC, 1985). Color

television was finally introduced in 1985 (<http://www.gbcghana.com/aboutus/index.html>), but nothing was done to loosen the grip of government.

1992 – 1996: A Missed Opportunity

In the 1990s, Ghana began a process of political reforms which culminated in the return to constitutional rule in 1992 creating a liberal environment where civil liberties were respected and the media operated in a high degree of freedom apart from lingering control tendencies of government. For the first time, private television became a reality. GTV found itself at a (critical) juncture where it was unavoidable to re-negotiate its relationship with government and redefine the role commerce plays in its operations.

The concept of critical juncture helps to explain how dramatic changes produce several possible outcomes in the process of social change. McChesney observes that critical juncture occurs when two or more of the following are present and it usually spans over one or two decades:

- i. A major political crisis in which the existing order is no longer working and there are major movements for social reform.
- ii. There is a revolutionary new communication technology that undermines the existing system.
- iii. The content of the media system, especially the journalism, is increasingly discredited and seen as illegitimate (McChesney, 2007:1434).

In the first place, the return to democracy and subsequent deregulation was not as a result of the military regime's reflection, but a product of local and external pressure (Alhassan, 2003).

Secondly, advances in communications technology delegitimized technological justifications for restrictions on entry into the broadcast market by private operators. Both print and electronic media mushroomed. In this plural media environment, GTV was faced with unprecedented competition, not only from commercial television, but other media. The increase in choices called into question its unique claim to public education, information and entertainment, the basis for receiving government subsidies.

Finally, a general trend towards liberal economic principles had given rise to the mantra that *government has no business being in business*. Government embarked on a program to divest itself of public enterprises, forcing GTV to fend for itself. Paradoxically,

as government pushed through its program of financial independence, it maintained the umbilical cord between the Ministry of Information and GTV to facilitate its influence over the later.

The Media Today

Ghanaian media operates in a liberal, plural environment and enjoys a large degree of freedom. In 2009, Freedom House ranked Ghana 53 among 195 countries surveyed worldwide on press freedom. On the African continent south of the Sahara, Ghana shares the first spot with Mali and Mauritius (<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=470>). The current Ghanaian media landscape is characterized by a vibrant radio, active print, budding Internet and growing private television. Radio benefited immensely from deregulation with the African Media Barometer reporting that as at 2009, one hundred and thirty (130) FM stations were operational and forty more have been granted licenses. Owing to the fact that they are only granted regional licenses, radio stations are well distributed across the country and are comparatively more accessible to local communities with such strategies as phone-in and text messaging engendering public participation (AMB, 2008). There are over one hundred and thirty-five (135) newspapers, but these are urban centered and have limited circulation because of a lack of distribution structures, low income levels and illiteracy. Internet is growing even though it is more of an urban phenomenon. Only 3.8% of the population has access mainly through Internet cafes (<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=251&country=7614&year=2009>). Mobile Internet is an area with a huge growth potential given its flexibility.

Television has not seen the same level of growth as radio. Media No. 1 started broadcasting Metropolitan Entertainment Television (Metro TV) in 1996. It was initially transmitting on UHF, covering the Accra-Tema metropolis with mainly entertainment programs. It now broadcasts on VHF and its sports channel, Metro Sports, occupies the UHF slot. A year after Metro TV, a Malaysian company with its Ghanaian partners launched TV3. Metro TV and TV3 are both free to air (FTA) channels and provide mixed programming. Together, they remain the biggest challenge to GTV. As at 2006, twenty-five (25) TV broadcast authorizations had been issued even though only eight (8) were operational. By 2008, the number of authorizations had risen to forty-seven (47) of which nineteen (19) are operational (NCA, 2008). Six (6) out of the nineteen (19) are FTA channels based in Accra and offering mixed programming. The remaining thirteen (13) are cable. The cable services are all based in one of the three major cities of Accra, Kumasi and Takoradi. Some of them

like Crystal TV and Skyy TV offer mixed local programming on one of their channels. Most of them simply package foreign channels like Movie Magic, Hallmark, BBC, CNN, DW-TV, Cartoon Network, Channel O, M-Net, SABC, Discovery and MTV. The cable services are not required by law to carry the public service channel. Like the FTA channels, their coverage is limited to the three cities mentioned above and a few other urban centers even though some of them and all of the FTA channels have national licenses. TV3 has a total transmission power of eighteen kilowatts (18kw) covering five (5) of the ten (10) regions of Ghana (<http://www.tv3.com.gh/new/aboutus/history.asp>). In principle, Metro TV is available throughout the country via satellite, but this requires additional equipment for reception. In practice, therefore, it is present in six regions. GTV is still the only terrestrial station with nationwide coverage. However, in a confidential audience survey carried out in selected towns in southern Ghana by the Audience Research Unit (ARU) of GBC in January 2008, it was revealed that private commercial stations, especially TV3, have displaced GTV as the most watched television station in all the towns surveyed except one. It means GTV continues to remain on top in most parts of the country because it is the only channel available. As the coverage of private stations grows, audiences are going to be more fragmented. Since the fieldwork for this thesis was carried out, one cable service, Multi TV and two FTA channels, South African e-TV and Swedish Viasat 1, have also begun transmission of mixed programs. As fragmentation increases, GTV will lose more ground and come under more pressure to justify its special role in the Ghanaian society. Justifying its place can only happen with the right policy response.

This thesis attempts to analyze how the legal and policy environment within which GTV operates produce political and commercial fault lines that influence its programming.

Structure

Chapter one lays out what this thesis set out to do. It puts the current broadcasting situation in socio-economic and historical contexts based on existing literature and states the specific questions that were investigated.

Chapter two provides the theoretical framework. It explains public service broadcasting by exploring how an inductive or a deductive path may be taken in a bid to understand the concept.

In chapter three, the research strategy and methods are discussed. It describes how the mixed methods approach was used and provides a justification of its appropriateness for this study.

Broadcast regulations are contained in various laws and policies. Chapter four lays out the regulatory framework governing broadcasting in Ghana. It focuses on how these laws and policies direct the practice of television broadcast and points out their respective strengths and drawbacks.

Chapter five describes how the regulatory framework has shaped the institutional development of GTV as a public service broadcasting organization. The structure of GTV is described and its characteristics with respect to public service principles are examined.

The programming practices of GTV are presented in chapter six. Using content analysis, GTV's schedules and news programs are analyzed. Aided by graphical illustrations, the results are described.

Chapter seven is the concluding chapter. It sums up the main findings and contains recommendations for future considerations.

2. Conceptual Framework

Previous Studies in this Area

Public service television has not received as much scholarly attention in Ghana as it has in Europe. The few studies that deal with the subject of television have either looked at aspects of its role and functions through its programming or examined television broadcast within the broader context of media regulation in Ghana without touching on programs. There is even less research that examines GTV as public service television. When this is done, it is often bunched together with radio under the umbrella of broadcasting or discussed as part of GTV's parent organization, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation.

Kwadwo Anokwa (1977) looks at the relationship between media use and national integration around the beginnings of television broadcasting in Ghana. He discusses how broadcasting in particular assumed a central role in fostering national unity and forging a common national identity in the newly formed state of Ghana. After about three decades, though, television broadcast had moved far from its development role to coping with the new realities of globalization (Nuviadenu, 2005). In her study of how globalization and localization apply to television programs, Kekeli Nuviadenu observed that global push and local resistance “yield complex interactions” that have implications for policy, culture and national identity (Nuviadenu, 2005:2). Foreign culture contained in the foreign programs have both been resisted and accepted and there is an attempt to preserve national identity through policy, albeit compromises had to be made along the way. Araba Sey (1999) had earlier on investigated the implications of program content on national culture. The study looked at program sources, mix, themes and values that are contained in them. Using cultural theory, she explained how foreign import of entertainment programs is an indirect import of foreign culture. Consistent exposure to these images and messages has negative implications for local Ghanaian culture since in many cases, the values portrayed in these imports are at variance with local Ghanaian values.

Children are the most vulnerable to foreign culture exposure, yet there is a lack of local content for, and a general exclusion of children in television programming (Mensa-Gbekor, 2001). According to Osei-Hwere (2008), the year 2004 saw the beginning of the decline of children's programs. Liberalization led to an increase in the overall output and diversity of children's programs on television, but the net output of GTV dropped from nine (9) hours to three (3) hours a week. This reduction is attributed to the increased importance

of the commercial logic in program production and the diminishing desire to produce programs that are not readily funded through sponsorship (ibid).

Literature on regulation has described government restrictions on broadcasting and subsequent deregulation. Gadzepko (1997) traces media policies under the different Ghanaian governments since independence till the late 1990s and outlines the checkered relationship between the media and the state. The media has largely been under state control. Government restrictions were justified by the development imperative, concerns for national unity and the mistrust of the market to pursue distributive activities in the area of broadcasting (Alhassan, 2005). Unfortunately, this only served as an excuse for governments to control, abuse and misuse broadcasting, thereby defeating the conceptual organization of broadcasting to meet societal welfare. Civil society clamored for the state to loosen its grip on broadcasting. According to Heath (1999), civil society activism and the adoption of market policies resulted in the reluctant liberalization of broadcast communication. Berger (2007) and the World Bank (2005) describe how changes in existing media related laws produced changes in the market structure. While these changes were potentially good for pluralism and democracy, they did not strengthen GTV's position as a public service broadcaster. In some sense, they weakened it (GJA, 2008). When the state eventually let go of the reins of broadcasting, it did so within the context of commercialization and privatization.

In describing the policy environment, these pieces did not focus on GTV in particular, but on broadcasting in general and sometimes the entire media sector. In addition, the program output that the policy environment produced was excluded from the discussion. On the other hand, the pieces that examined the role of GTV concentrated on specific issues like national integration, culture or education and were not situated within the legal and policy environment that created the broadcast institution itself and defined its mandate. Also, they do not offer insights into programming and therefore, a description of GTV's adherence to a predefined public service mandate. This thesis brings both policy and programming together to examine how GTV is functioning as a public service broadcaster. Such an exercise requires, first of all, an understanding of what public service broadcasting is, and this chapter sets about to do that. The discussion is based on the European public service broadcasting model exemplified by the BBC.

Defining Public Service Broadcasting

A standard definition of PSB is difficult, because the concept refers to both an institution and an ideal. It variously describes the broadcasting system in a country, the presence of certain characteristics in a broadcast institution(s) or the reflection of certain values and principles in its functions (Buckley, Duer, Mendel & Siochrú, 2008; Syvertsen, 1992).

Organizing television as a public service comes from welfare economics where it is generally accepted as part of government responsibility to ensure that essential services reached all citizens regardless of income, creed or social standing (Murdock, 2000). Before television, the United Kingdom and many parts of Western Europe had long recognized the importance of public services for social cohesion and the general well-being of society (2020 Public Services Trust, 2009; Helm, 2005). However, differences in the implementation of public service television in the different countries make it hard to pin it down in a universal definition. This view is shared by Rumphorst (1998: 1) who admits that “although easy to understand, it is more often than not misunderstood, sometimes profoundly, sometimes even intentionally.” Rumphorst explains that important characteristics of the public service broadcasting like its funding and accountability mechanisms contribute to the confusion over its meaning.

PSB is sometimes called minority broadcasting because of its commitment to carrying minority programs. This implies that it is out of the mainstream or operates on the margins of the industry where the majority is not interested in its programs and the minority who the programs are made for do not always watch them (Rumphorst, 1998; Dahlgren, 1995). However, this, Rumphorst explains, is only a case of giving a good dog a bad name. Public service broadcasting rests on the principle of broadcasting to the general public so this argument cannot be true.

To contrast it with commercial television, it has been described as ‘state-funded’, which comes with the assumption “that it must be close to, if not a mouthpiece of the government” (Rumphorst, 1998: 1). Although such assumptions may be wrong, the public service orientation of state broadcasting adds to this perception (Banerjee & Seneviratne, 2005). It is important to point out that state broadcasting is different from public service broadcasting in its structure and programming objectives. State broadcasting is owned and controlled by government and generally excludes ‘unfriendly’ views. Although it may carry out some amount of public service programming, because it is biased towards government, it lacks public participation and rather than enabling, inhibits democracy and development

(Buckley et al, 2008; Rumphorst, 1998). Distrust of the state has led to arguments of commercial television as an alternative. However, decoupling television from the power of the state must not be misconstrued as transfer of control to market forces. The two stem from different principles. Whereas commercial broadcasting is propelled by the commercial logic, public service television essentially provides what its name says, public service.

Three of the many definitions of PSB have been presented below:

Neither commercial nor State-controlled, public broadcasting's only *raison d'être* is public service. It is the public's broadcasting organization; it speaks to everyone as a citizen (WRTVC/UNESCO, 2000:1).

Public service broadcasting is a system that is nonprofit and noncommercial, supported by public funds, ultimately accountable in some legally defined way to the citizenry, and aimed at providing a service to the entire population – one which does not apply commercial principles as the primary means to determine its programming (McChesney, 1999: 226).

A television of citizens which is financed to a large extent – or entirely – by those citizens, it is answerable to the public as a whole (Atkinson, 1997: 58).

Underlying these definitions is the notion of citizenship as the rationale for broadcasting, which stems from the proposition that broadcasting is a right to be benefited from by the entire population of a bounded region or the general public. However, the term 'public' in the contexts of broadcasting not unproblematic.

The 'Public' in Public Service Broadcasting

'Public' can be an elusive term that is applicable in many contexts. It is sometimes associated with "state/government/official" (Rumphorst, 1998: 1). Public may be understood as geographic in which case it refers to a people in a specific setting or may have cultural connotations when it refers to shared experiences. Warner (2002) suggests the existence of several publics. However, given that the different publics are inclined to pursue their self-interests, organizing broadcasting around several autonomous publics may not be enough if the desire is to include the entire population. Therefore, there needs to be a single public sphere, according to Garnham (1992), even if it is conceived as containing several unique sub-publics. This stems from ideas of the nation-state as a single unit. By inference, public means "the entire population of a country (or region), which the public broadcaster is

responsible for serving” (Rumphorts, 1998: 3). Entire population has a dual meaning. First, it coincides with the principle of universalism to mean that “ideally, every household in the service area should be in a position to receive the program service” and second, “all groups and sections of society: rich and poor, old and young (and in-between), educated and less well educated, people with special interests” (ibid). This egalitarian principle is expressed in many UNESCO documents and assumes that the public is made up of citizens with cultural rights (not consumers) and television is a public good (not a commodity).

The Public as Citizens and Television as a Public Good

In television, the notion of citizenship is often contrasted with consumer as justification for or the rejection of PSB. Presenting the views of market liberals, Atkinson (1997) explains that market liberals consider television as just another commodity and like any other commodity it should be subject to the laws of the market. Protecting television from the pressures of the market will lead to complacency and inefficiencies. Besides, the market is better placed to meet the tastes of niche targets as the number of channels increase and not a *broad-cast* to the entire population by PSB. However, the traditional citizens-based rationale for public service television presented in a series of reports (McDonell, 1991), sees the place of television in nurturing shared social, cultural and political values (Murdock, 2002) as far too important to narrow it down to economic efficiency. Murdock expresses this in three arguments.

- i. Citizens required comprehensive and disinterested *information* on developments that affected their personal and political choices...
- ii. Citizens are entitled to see their own experiences, opinions, and aspirations given a *fair representation*...
- iii. Citizens have a right to *participate* in open debates over the relative merits of competing explanations... (Emphasis original) (Murdock, 2002: 44)

To consider television as a right means that the market position of gaining utility by expending an income inevitably creates imbalances, which the notion of citizenship seeks to address. Were it left to the basics of demand and supply, broadcasting will only become a tool of exclusion where programming and access is basically determined by ratings and ability to pay without regard for the marginalized (Helm, 2005). But television may be considered a public good (Doyle, 2002).

According to Doyle (2002), the public good concept has two aspects to it:

- i. Non-rivalrous consumption and
- ii. Non-exclusion

Non-rivalrous consumption means that consumption by one person does not destroy or diminish utility by another person. Non-excludability means that once transmission is initiated, the public cannot be prevented from consumption whether they have paid for the service or not.

Of course, today's broadcasting is not always non-excludable. Satellite, cable and digital technologies mean that broadcast signals can now be encrypted for paying costumers only. There argument can be made here that pay per view and its power of exclusion lends credence to the citizen-based rationale for broadcasting.

However, as Dahlgren (2000) points out, these lines are not always strictly drawn. On the one hand, governments are retreating from broadcasting, at least in the area of funding and on the other hand, commercial broadcasters may be charged with public service responsibilities. This does not mean that the citizen and consumer dichotomy is no longer relevant, because this division serves as a useful reference point that provides a specific analytical framework in understanding public service television, at least on the intellectual level (Orgeret, 2006).

Conceptualizing Public Service Broadcasting

According to Collins (2004), there are two possible routes to conceptualize public service broadcasting. The first is by an inductive approach whereby one can look to history to describe what has actually been the practice or by "deduction through theoretical systemization of what public service broadcasting 'ought' to be" (ibid: 35). The former may provide an accurate description, but is trapped in history. The latter is liberating, but may be idealistic.

The Inductive Approach

Historically, the concept evolved out of the desire to regulate broadcasting as a public utility in the public interest. The interpretation of this by the broadcasters themselves, of which John Reith was instrumental, guided the practice that emerged. As the first Director-General of the BBC, he institutionalized broadcasting as a public service (Scannell, 1990). His concept of independent public service broadcasting was based on his belief that:

- i. Public service broadcasting “should be protected from purely commercial pressures”
- ii. The whole nation should be served by the broadcasting service
- iii. There should be unified control, that is, organized as a monopoly and
- iv. There should be high program standards (McDonnell 1991: 1).

The BBC was then organized as a monopoly (at least for a while) to serve the entire nation, independent of government and protected from commercial pressures. The monopoly structure was justified on both technical and economic grounds. Electromagnetic spectrum was scarce and government had to negotiate for bandwidth at the international level, which was then apportioned for national use in various forms of communications. On the economic side, broadcasting was regarded as a “‘national’ resource which ought to be organized in the public interest” (ibid: 2).

The problem with the Reithian concept is that firstly, it precluded competition and weakens against the onslaught of arguments based on free market principles. It has been criticized for being high minded and paternalistic. In Reith’s view, “public taste was too fickle and uncertain to be taken as a guide to program-making. The broadcaster should set its own standards of taste and should accustom the public to those standards” (McDonnell, 1991: 2). Secondly, it relied on the concept of a mass audience or a general public with common values and interests. “As long as that consensus was taken for granted, the rhetoric of public service had no need to clarify or question important, but nebulous terms such as ‘high standards’” (ibid). Thirdly, it conceived broadcasting in a national context, that is, a bounded geographical region and not in a transnational context. However, developments in ICTs have taken local broadcasting beyond national borders. Although broadcasting in Britain has moved on since Reith and some of his arguments are no longer relevant today, the principles that guide PSB today can partly be recognised in some of his early arguments. These are universality, diversity, independence and distinctiveness.

Universality

Universality is premised on the principles of citizenship and cultural rights that have earlier been discussed. This means that broadcasting must be technically available to the entire population without cost being a hindrance. It also means that programs should allow and include all shades of opinion and aim at enlightening and nourishing the general public. The object is not to program to satisfy every single member of the community (this is impossible) or to pursue populist programs with the aim of high ratings at all times, but to strive to schedule programs that do not ignore sections of society (WRTVC/UNESCO, 2000).

Diversity

Diversity should manifest in at least three ways:

- The range or genres of programs offered
- The audiences targeted
- The subjects discussed

(WRTVC/UNESCO, 2000)

Public service broadcasting must seek to respond to audience tastes and produce different programs. This needs to be evident in the structure and composition of program schedules. It must go beyond program types and genres and cover a wide range of topics in addition to representing different views or people (Atkinson, 1997). This may seem to contradict the principle of universality, but universal does not mean homogeneous and diversity does not simply mean different or fragmented. Universality and diversity are compatible in the sense that programs pursued are guided by broad national goals and values, while taking into account ethnic, religious, cultural and other differences. The underlying theory is that by pursuing different program types, targeting different audiences and covering different subjects, public service television will end up with vertical diversity that appeals to all (Harrison and Woods, 2001).

Independence

The ability of public service broadcasting to facilitate free exchange of ideas depends on its own freedom. It needs to be seen as fair and unbiased and maintain its credibility in the eyes of the public. Therefore, it must be kept free from political influence and market pressures (WRTVC/UNESCO, 2000). However, tensions can arise between the quest for

accountability and the principle of independence of the media (Rønning, 2007). The friction, according to Raboy (1996) is because citizenship as a concept is not passive. It exists in a political context which gives governments the impetus to direct broadcasting ostensibly in the interest of its citizens. Public service broadcasting risks losing the people's faith if it is perceived to be influenced by government (Buckley, et al, 2008).

On the other hand, the distrust of the market, expressed in the initial arguments to organize the BBC as a public service means that undue exposure to the market will undermine public service programming (McDonnell, 1991; Scannell, 1990). The market is driven by returns on investment. In television, returns are determined by direct airtime sales and/or the number of viewers the broadcaster can deliver to advertisers and sponsors. Broadcasters surrender their creative and editorial control to sponsors when they sell airtime to sponsors who may only be interested in producing content to further their interests (Atkinson, 1997). Besides, emphasizing high audience numbers relegates the social and cultural benefits to be derived from television utility by minority groups.

It stems from this that the independence of public service broadcasting can be undermined firstly, by the way it is structured and secondly, the way it is funded. In terms of governance, public service broadcasting's independence can be secured by a two-tier structure established by law and clear accountability mechanisms. In theory, the two-tier structure separates the day-to-day administration from the general policy direction. The former is handled by the chief executive officer (CEO) and his team and the latter is provided by a board of directors (WRTVC/UNESCO, 2000). Through a transparent, public process members are selected to represent various constituencies to bring varied opinions to the board and to reduce the risk of being influenced by any particular interest. The CEO is accountable to the board thereby creating a buffer between the broadcasters and government. The board then reports to parliament and not to the executive arm of government, giving it a sense of public accountability. It must be pointed out though, that members of parliament represent certain political and parochial interests, which may not be the same as what is in the public interest. This lends weight to the idea of creating an independent body like in France and Canada that is vested with regulatory responsibility (WRTVC/UNESCO, 2000).

On the second issue that affects the independence of public service broadcasting, different countries go for a different funding mix of direct taxes, government subsidies, advertising revenue and donations depending on their vision for PSB. Advertising revenue depends on the size and health of the economy. Excessive reliance on advertising can lead to

populist programming. Government grants can also be volatile. Apart from competing with other interest, there is also the real possibility of being affected by cuts in government expenditure. The license fee has a measure of predictability. Whatever the funding model, it must generate guaranteed, substantial and predictable funds that will ensure that PSB is independent of the market, government or other influences.

Distinctiveness

Public service broadcasting needs to maintain a sense of distinctiveness through its programming. The goal is “not merely a matter of producing the type of programs that others are not interested in, aiming at audiences neglected by others, or dealing with subjects ignored by others,” but by doing things differently and “pulling others in their wake.” (WRTVC/UNESCO, 2000:5) Distinctive programming rest on five key pillars:

- Providing information that is objective or in the least unbiased and enlightening.
- Scheduling that reflects a wide variety of tastes and meets general interests.
- Leading the industry with programs of high quality standards.
- Producing programs that are national in character.
- Maintaining editorial control by producing a good portion of the programs broadcast internally.

(WRTVC/UNESCO, 2000: 9-12).

Public service broadcasting must seek to enlighten by providing in-depth explanations and explorations of issues. Programming should not be limited to newscasts and public affairs, but also must address the entertainment needs of viewers. Importantly, programs should be of such quality that they set the standards for industry. Quality goes beyond production values and plot and includes issues of diversity, concern for national identity and innovation. Producing most if not all of its programs, therefore, ensures that public service television can maintain creative and editorial control. These principles have characterized European public service broadcasting (Helm, 2005; Curran & Seaton, 1997; Helland, 1993; Syvertsen, 1992; McDonnell, 1991; Scannell, 1990). PSB has come under severe strain, faced with intense criticism based on neoliberal market ideas. Part of this argument, Atkinson (1997) explains, is that competition will drive prices down and through pluralism the market will be able to meet the different needs of consumers. Thus, there will be no need for an institution to be specifically organized and funded for public service purposes. Garnham (1992) points out

that the argument about individuals making rational choices in economic exchanges has been criticized within economics as neglecting the realities of income disparity and the differences in the cost of producing and acquiring information. It is also flawed in the sense that it assumes PSB and commercial television operate or should operate from the same set of values. Moreover, commercial television's claim to meet the needs of viewers is misleading because viewers have access to only what is on offer. Also, commercial television serves what will advance its interest, which may not necessarily be the public interest. These arguments make it important to rethink the public service broadcasting concept in order not to make it susceptible to these attacks. This leads to the deductive approach in conceptualizing public service broadcasting.

The Deductive Approach

According to Collins (2004), this approach escapes from the market criticism, because it is not stuck in the nostalgia of maintaining a system that has inevitably been modified by the realities of advances in communications technologies. Rather, it provides arguments based on the normative role of PSB. Collins puts these arguments in two broad categories as the Authoritarian and the Libertarian Visions.

The Authoritarian Vision

Collins (2004) traces the authoritarian vision to the U.K.'s Pilkington Committee Report of 1962, but this report merely echoes the feelings of Reith and the entire period between 1924 and 1946, which McDonnell (1991) calls the Reithian era. The Authoritarian Vision sees PSB as the champion of the public interest and defends this by mounting an attack on commercial broadcasting's claim that it provides what the public wants. According to Collins, the committee's report stems from a belief that the public is vulnerable and must be protected from its own desires and the influences of a powerful medium. What the public wants might not necessarily be in its own interest.

The problem with the Authoritarian Vision is that it arrogates to itself the provider of the needs of the public and falls into the same trap of supposition and patronage that commercial television is accused of. What the public needs or what is in the interest of the public is problematic. Feintuck (1999: 57) acknowledges that "it is not easy to be certain what the public interest demands, though the concept is certainly not coterminous with what the public or certain sectors of it might be interested in." Neither is it a sum of the individual interest of citizens. Rather, a complex mix of various preferences and trade offs (ibid).

Drawing from public planning, something is said to be in the public interest “if it serves the ends of the whole society rather than those of some sectors of the society” (Banfield, 1995 cited in McQuail, 1992: 71). The challenge is who should and how to determine what serves the whole society and not just sections of it. Going by the Pilkington report, the public interest is served when the public need and the public want converge. And by its commitment to vertical diversity, PSB, even as a single institution comes close to meeting public needs by providing program schedules that offer a wide range of genres and covers a large spectrum of subjects.

The Libertarian Vision

The second vision, according to Collins (2004), is the libertarian vision, expressed in the writings of neo-Habermasian proponents. Collins notes that Garnham examined the dualism established by arguments for and against the market and the state and argued for a mediating system based on the notion of the Habermasian public sphere. Habermas’ conception of the public sphere faces problems of its own (See Calhoun, 1992).

Criticisms of Habermas’ Public Sphere

Habermas’ concept has been criticized for presenting the bourgeois public sphere as the ideal and neglecting parallel spheres like those emerging from the labor movement, women and popular constituencies. It fails to theorize a pluralistic public sphere that takes into account the strong and opposing and even divisive views that is characteristic of multiparty politics. It does not address gender relations, and finally, it fails to take into account different forms of communication (Fraser, 1992; Zaret, 1992).

According to Garnham (1992), even though these criticisms are generally legitimate, the Habermasian public sphere remains an important starting point in the study and the understanding of issues related to public communication and politics, because first, the media plays a central role in democratic politics and may in fact be considered as an integral part of the political structure. Second, this approach looks at the issue of representation and access by addressing how public communication resources are distributed and to whom they are available. Finally, it avoids the dichotomy between the state and the media in thinking about the media and therefore stays clear of the concerns about the threats of the state or the market to public discourse and democracy.

One difficulty with the libertarian vision, Collins (2004) acknowledges, is that it is inadequate to address policy and organizational issues like funding. He argues that this may be because Habermas himself developed his notion of the public sphere as part of a critique of the mass society and mass communications and not as a defense of public service broadcasting. Therefore, it is hard to establish strong links between notions of public sphere and public service broadcasting beyond the conceptual level.

Television and Public Service Broadcasting Concept

The authoritarian and libertarian visions offer distinct ways to conceptualize PSB, but they may not be considered as mutually exclusive. While libertarianism points to the principle of independence, authoritarianism cannot be too far from the belief that broadcasting has to be organized to meet specific needs of society. Theoretically, the two emphasize different, but critical aspects of public service broadcasting: independence and programming obligations. In practice, these are the very elements described by Syvertsen (1992) through an inductive process. It can be concluded that the deductive and inductive approaches address PSB as an institution and as a philosophy that guides programming. Therefore, they offer frameworks within which to examine a broadcast institution's claim to public service at the intuitional and/or programming levels.

However, the economic, social and political realities of countries may tamper with these principles. Public service broadcasting may therefore be considered an ideal, which may never be achieved in its pristine form. The extent to which this ideal reflects in policies, laws, regulations and the structure and performance of television channels, can provide clear ideas about their public service 'broadcastingness' or otherwise.

Conclusion

A universal definition of public service broadcasting may be difficult, but existing literature offers useful insights. The concept can be described by following an inductive or a deductive process. Both processes emphasize protecting PSB from the market, the state and vested interests, because it is critical to society's enlightenment and nourishment. Public service broadcasting may describe an institution. Alternatively, it can be conceived as a specific function that can be carried out by any broadcaster, regardless of its legal structure. It is yet to be seen though if a random collection of commercial broadcasters can collectively provide adequate and effective public service broadcasting.

In terms of an institution, public service broadcasting should be evident in both the character of the institution and the role it plays in a democratic society. Its administrative structure and funding must be such that it is insulated from political and economic pressures in order to function effectively. It means maintaining creative and editorial control and serving all sections of the population. It performs a corrective function by including programs, subjects and audiences that are unattractive to commercial television. Finally, it is not driven by economic motives, but the value society derives from their television experience.

Ghana Television is expected to function as a public service broadcaster, but is it? By examining its attributes and its programming, this thesis discusses what (dis)qualifies GTV as a public service television channel.

3. Methodology

An examination of the attributes and programming of GTV requires both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Primarily, data was collected using qualitative methods. Documents, observations and conversations with key informants helped to explain the policy environment and programming practices. While this is important to explain the legal, historical and political contexts within which GTV operates, it fails to objectively account for the programs GTV actually broadcasts. To capture this, quantitative analyses of transmission schedules and television news were carried out.

The Mixed Methods Approach

Human quest for knowledge through enquiry has been bogged with epistemological concerns about the approaches and methods researchers employ. These are well discussed by Jensen (2002) and Bryman (2008). The debates, Tashakkori & Teddlie (2008), Bryman (2008) and Jensen (2002) explain, arise from the notion that one approach is superior to the other or that the two are fundamentally different and therefore cannot mix. This seems to present researchers with a stark choice between qualitative descriptions and precise numbers. However, the issue of methodological choice has got less to do with superiority and more to do with appropriateness. The suitability of an approach depends on the nature of the issues to be investigated (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Bryman, 2008; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2008; Jensen, 2002) with each method answering specific questions. Orgeret (2006) combines the two methods to great effect.

In this study, quantitative and qualitative methods were used, because both were found to be suitable and complementary to each other. Kvale & Brinkmann (2009:117) explain that qualitative methods refer to *what kind*, and quantitative methods refer to *how much of a kind*” (Original emphasis). The objective of this research was to analyze on the one hand, public service television as the way a media institution (GTV) may be organized and on the other hand as a philosophy that guides programming. Quantitative content analysis was useful to objectively analyze the program output of GTV, but this was inadequate to explain why program choices were made or what informed policies. It was also inadequate to explain the complex relationship between politics, GTV and the Ghanaian society that facilitates or inhibits public service television. This is where the qualitative approach has its strengths.

The strengths of the qualitative approach are that it is inductive, constructive and interpretive. It is “emergent rather than tightly prefigured” (Creswell 2003) and it is distinct from quantitative research not merely by the absence of numbers, but by the way it seeks to understand and explain social phenomena. “It embodies a view of social reality as a constantly shifting emergent property of individuals’ creation” (Bryman, 2004:20). It explores and attempts to understand “how the participants experience and explain their own world” through “careful and detailed descriptions of social practices” (Jackson, 1995: 17).

The study employs multiple methods with the view that triangulation potentially increases the validity of the results (Jensen, 2002).

Triangulation

Triangulation is originally a nautical term that describes the plotting of three points to locate ships at sea. It does not mean that the researcher necessarily needs three sources or methods (Mabry, 2008). According to Kelly (2002a), it entails using as many methods or/and sources as appropriate in the study of social phenomena. In social research, Kelly (2002) explains, triangulation may be used in four ways: methodological triangulation, where the approach is interdisciplinary, data triangulation where one source of data is checked against another, investor triangulation where different researchers and evaluators are used to complement each other or theoretical triangulation where recourse is made to different abstractions and theories. Jensen (2002:272) points out that triangulating theories may be problematic since “interpretation normally involves closure around a single perspective, however preliminary.” Methodological triangulation on the other hand allows for “different aspects of a research question, and not necessarily in the same concrete empirical domain” (ibid).

In this study, methodological and data triangulation were useful to check the extent to which the data generated from the interviews confirmed program schedules, news content and stated policy. Inconsistencies that came up were further pursued for clarification.

Qualitative Interviews

Bryman (2004) makes a distinction between structured and semi-structured or unstructured interviews in that structured interviews have a set of clearly standardized questions that the interviewer hardly deviates from, whereas unstructured and semi-structured interviews rely on prompts (aide memoire) and interview guides respectively. This study did not conduct standardized interviews because of its rigid and mechanical nature, which requires

informants to answer the same questions and often elicits brief answers. It is inflexible and allows very little deviation from the prepared questionnaire (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009; Bryman, 2004). Instead, formal and often informal one-to-one discussions were held with respondents. The flexibility of qualitative interviews allowed me to rephrase and redirect questions when I felt my questions were misunderstood or when the respondent veered off the issues. In this way, detailed data was obtained.

Unfortunately, this quality about interviews also exposes it to epistemological concerns and the charge that it has generalization problems. Kvale & Brinkmann (2009: 294) explain that the qualitative interview can be “individualistic”, “idealistic”, “credulous”, “intellectualistic”, “cognitivist”, “immobile”, “verbalizing”, “alinguistic”, “atheoretical”, “arhetorical”, “insignificant”, and “it is obsessed with legitimizing itself rather than producing new knowledge.” However, these criticisms do not take away the qualitative interview’s ability to provide in-depth information and explanations.

Based on the research questions of this study, a long list of questions was initially drawn for the three different categories of respondents. They were aimed at eliciting responses that describe processes, techniques and strategies. After testing the question and upon some reflection, these questions were merged into themes that later served as prompts for the conversations.

Units of Analysis

The object of study is Ghana Television. This choice rests upon the fact that it is the only television station that is legally required to be organized and operated as a public service in Ghana. In addition, it is of strategic importance to Ghana’s democracy and development. Finally, working at GTV briefly raised my curiosity about how it is fulfilling its role. My focus is on how GTV is organized as a public service broadcaster and the programs it outputs.

A total of about four weeks was spent at GTV at two different periods during which conversations were held with editors, producers and selected members of management. The television newsroom and studios were also visited for firsthand experience of the program making process. Copies of transmission schedules were obtained as well as recorded news programs.

Sampling – Interviews

The issues involved in this study required respondents with specialized knowledge. As such, people were selected based on their ability to shed light on the research questions. The respondents for interviews fall in three broad categories:

- i. Regulators
- ii. Broadcasting professionals and
- iii. Independent Assessors

The first group comprised members of the National Communications Authority (NCA) and the National Media Commission (NMC) for their special involvement in the media industry as regulators. With the exception of the Executive Secretary of the NMC, it was quite a challenge getting serving officials to share their views. Therefore, past officials were sought out and some were more than willing to discuss the issues. The second category involved past and present staff of GTV, commercial broadcasters and independent producers. The third group included researchers, academics and other members of society who by their interest in public service television or by their place in society offered independent opinions about the challenges facing GTV. Not all the data generated were included in the analyses, only relevant portions.

Many of the respondents were uncomfortable about discussing GTV, because it is a ‘sensitive’ issue. They agreed to informal conversations only if their views were to be used anonymously. In order to prevent ideas and opinions from being traced back to them, respondents are denoted in this thesis as ‘interview’ for individuals and ‘interviews’ to show similar opinions by more than one person. For the same reason, a list of interviewees is not provided.

Sampling – Transmission Schedules & News Programs

The research considered transmission schedules and news programs from 1992 to 2009, covering the period of Ghana’s return to democratic rule and subsequent deregulation to the time this research was carried out. My original intention was to select a week from every quarter for a true reflection of programming. However, records of schedules are not kept by GTV. The only two newspapers and one magazine, *the Ghanaian Times*, *the Mirror* and *Radio and TV Guide* that previously published schedules had long stopped. There were recorded videos of news programs but the cost of obtaining them from GTV was prohibitive,

so the samples were limited to one week to coincide with the period of the fieldwork. The sample is made up of DVD copies of all the 7 o'clock news programs from 19 to 24 January 2009 and the entire transmission schedules from 19 to 25 January, 2009. The findings from these, therefore, do not show trend, but offer a snapshot of news and general programming. When necessary, reference is made to previous work on GTV's programming trends.

Documents

The research generated quite a large volume of documents. These included Acts of Parliament, decrees, reports, internal publications of GBC and news clippings. This study had no influence on the production of these documents and so their contents do not carry my biases. Their selection was based on their relevance to GTV in terms of policies or practices. They provided useful insights, however limited some of them may be. Some of the documents were produced as part of the normal administrative or creative process while others were externally produced by independent entities.

Internet as a Resource

Moyo (2006) acknowledges the importance of the worldwide web as a resource for African researchers living abroad and conducting research on their countries. With the Ghanaian government pursuing an electronic governance project, documents like the 1992 Constitution of Ghana were found on the government official portal. The website of the National Communications Authority was very useful. National Media Commission did not have a website when this study started, but towards the end of the study, <http://www.nmcghana.org/> appeared on the web. A very useful site was www.myjoyonline.com, the website of Joy FM, a local radio station. Some follow up correspondence was carried out through email.

The challenge with using the Internet as a resource is the authenticity and reliability of data. Another challenge is the loss of visual and aural cues that the researcher may pick up during face-to-face interviews (Bryman 2004). It must, however, be mentioned that the Internet was not a substitute, but complementary to onsite research.

Quantitative Content Analysis

Different authors have defined content analysis (Neuendorf, 2002; Krippendorff, 1980; Berelson, 1952). From these, it can be deduced that content analysis is a descriptive summary of message content, using a systematic and objective quantification of the message characteristics. Gunter (2002:220) explains that “content analysis is, first, systematic in that it utilizes a principled form of media output sampling and content coding. Second, it is objective in that the researcher’s own idiosyncrasies and biases should not affect the analysis” and “it is quantifiable in that its main focus is on counting occurrences of predefined entities in a media text.” Wimmer and Dominick (1994) identify five uses to which content analysis can be put. These are to describe patterns or trends of representation in the media, to test policy claims or stated objectives of producers, to examine the relationship by way of comparison between media content and the real world, to assess the representation of identified groups in society and to make judgments about media effect.

Three of these applications were useful to this study. By employing content analysis this study was able to assess programming inclinations, test policy claims against practice and assess how much identified constituencies are represented on GTV. Specifically, it allowed for the measurement of program types, news stories, sources, actors and language use. This required some form of classification.

Establishing the Programs Categories

There is not a universal television program classification. Variations can be seen in the British, Canadian and American categorizations (www.bbc.co.uk/bbcone/programmes; www.dmoz.org/Arts/Television/Programs/Talk_Shows/desc.html; <http://www.crtc.gc.ca/canrec/eng/tvcat.htm>). The differences are due to the wide ranging television formats, the nature of program content and the audiences they target. This makes television program classification inherently subjective and context specific. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) attempted standardization by providing some useful guidelines (UNESCO, 1976). But the overlapping attributes of programs and the differences in program objectives mean that this can only be used as a starting point from which classification can be further determined qualitatively. Even within Ghana, differences exist between stations. To overcome this challenge and minimize errors, the categories adopted here are those used at GTV. These are Drama & Entertainment, Public & Current Affairs, Religion & Culture, Youth & Gender, Sports,

Education, Documentary and News. They also serve as administrative divisions for effective management of television production and have seen re-alignment as GTV grew and changed over the years. The present structure is still under review. News is under discussion to be merged with Current Affairs in the 'One GBC News Project.' Administratively, news is separate from program production and there is no section for documentary. However, documentary has been added in this thesis to capture every program.

News and documentary could have been put together and classified as Informative programs in accordance with the UNESCO classification. They are split here because news is a major aspect of GTV's programming and merits a detailed assessment under its own category. Also, the economic value of the television documentary makes it an easy target to be left out of programming in spite of its potential informational and cultural values. Therefore, the amount of space and time that documentaries occupy on the transmission schedule is worth measuring. In addition, the blurring lines between pure, corporate, promotional videos and other non-marketing, factual narratives makes it unacceptable to lump both documentaries and television news together in one category. Although corporate documentaries may also be informative, their economic motive makes them different from news. For example, *Sidanco* and *Aqua Vitens Rand* are no more than public relations videos or better still, long advertisements designed to promote specific brands. Most of the documentaries broadcast during the period of analysis were corporate videos.

Such programs could be put together in a separate category for commercials, promotions and advertisements. For practical reasons, this was not done. Data on the number of advertisements that come from producers of independent programs were not available. Independent productions are generally prepackaged with adverts before they are sent to GTV for broadcast. It was logistically not possible to compile all the adverts from the many different independent productions companies. Analyzing only the 'standalone' adverts received by the GTV Film and Video Library for broadcast would have been insufficient. Not separating the advertisements and promos may be criticized for affecting the accuracy of the total number of minutes of the different categories. However, such concerns should be laid to rest, because adverts are contained across board and that has a self-correcting tendency.

GTV was helpful with the classification of all the in-house programs and many of the independent productions. The rest of the programs were classified according to their general characteristics, their intended objectives as deduced from their contents and their primary

target audience. Without an informative category, where to place quiz programs was particularly tricky. For example, the quiz show, *Scripps Spelling Bee* is an informative program with children as the primary audience, making it also eligible as a children's program. But the learning factor of this program is very strong so it became the overriding consideration for classifying it as education. *It Takes Two* is also a quiz program with the style of an entertainment program (a game show). In such an instance, the program objective ceases to be informational and as such was categorized as entertainment.

Additional categories were established to measure certain aspects of the news program. Following Orgeret (2006) the stories were categorized according to their origin, source, type and main actor(s). Further descriptions are provided in chapter six.

Measuring Diversity

The presence or absence of diversity in television programming can be revealed by measuring the relative share of the various program categories. The eight program categories established were used for this purpose. The results are presented in table 6.4.

Diversity is a difficult concept to define due to its multi-dimensional nature and possible application in many different fields. However, previous works in measuring diversity (MacDonald & Dimmick, 2003; Napoli, 2001; Lin, 1995) offer some direction. Media diversity may refer to ownership, which is sometimes contrasted with concentration or content, in which case it is synonymous with heterogeneity of supplied or consumed diversity (Napoli, 2001). The distinction between supplied diversity and consumed diversity must be emphasized here, because one can argue that it may be desirable to have more of a certain type of programs than others in consonance with audience preferences, which "are unevenly distributed over these types" (Greenberg & Barnett 1971: 90). Therefore, diversity is best served when broadcasters provide programs in the exact combinations that audiences desire. A perfect match may never be achieved. Focusing on supplied diversity helps to reveal how competing logics influence programming. Program content may be measured within a channel or across several channels (Lin 1995). Intra channel or vertical diversity is examined here.

According to MacDonald & Dimmick (2003), the multi-dimensional aspect of diversity refers to the elements that are common to diversity in the different contexts and not the contexts themselves. Benhamou and Peltier (2007), identify these elements as variety, balance and disparity. Diversity requires the presence of:

- i) variety or the range of options available
- ii) balance – how the options are distributed and
- iii) disparity – the degree to which the options are different from each other.

By this conceptualization, variety increases with an increase in the number of different categories present. Therefore, broad categorizations artificially decrease variety and vice versa. This may produce misleading results. However, it is not simply the number of categories that matters, but in addition, the relative share of the various categories. In terms of diversity, it could be better to have fewer but distinctively dissimilar categories of equal proportions (balance) than to have many categories with one category disproportionately higher than the rest. Diversity is better measured by taking into account a) the number of categories and b) the proportions of each category (MacDonald & Dimmick, 2003).

The dual concept agrees with the conception of diversity as involving variety, balance and disparity. If variety describes the different categories and balance describes even distribution, then disparity describes the distinctiveness found in heterogeneity or differences in program types. Several methods (see MacDonald & Dimmick, 2003) capture these criteria, but the Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI) is used in this study.

The Herfindahl-Hirschman Index is consistent with the dual concept in that it takes into account the percentage share across the different categories and indicates concentration or heterogeneity levels. This is by no means the only model. Doyle (1998) used the benchmark model, duopoly, to assess the relationship between competition and programming mix and Waterman (1990) used Steven Salop's circular model to examine the relationship between quality and diversity. MacDonald & Dimmick (2003) prefer the Simpson's D over the HHI in examining TV programs, even though there are mathematical similarities between them in the way they measure diversity. While the Simpson's D squares the *proportions* of the various categories and subtracts the result from one, the HHI takes the sum of the squared *percentages*. Their difference lay in their ease of interpretation.

The coefficient, using the Simpson's D falls between 0 and 1 so it lends itself to a straight forward probabilistic interpretation of diversity. On the other hand, the HHI yields values between (near) zero to 10,000 (i.e. 100^2), which requires further interpretation (See Fig 6.9). Even though MacDonald & Dimmick (2003:68) contend that this results "in fairly arbitrary cut-points and interpretability," the Simpson's D is no less arbitrary because inevitably, a judgment must be made whether the results obtained represent a high or low

probability and therefore more or less diversity. In my view, the use of a categorization scheme in the HHI instead offers standardized interpretation. Therefore, following Benhamou & Peltier (2007), van der Wurf (2004), Li & Chaing (2001) and Lin (1995), the HHI is employed. It has proven to yield results consistent with other leading indices and it is relevant to the study.

The HHI Formula

$$H = \sum_{i=1}^N s_i^2$$
 where s_i is the percentage share of category i in the total broadcast time and N is the number of categories.

Source: http://www.justice.gov/atr/public/guidelines/horiz_book/15.html

Interpreting the Results

Illustrating the quantitative data in tables and charts helped to provide descriptive summaries based on the categories established. The proportions of the various categories were compared and related to the public service broadcasting theory described in the previous chapter.

The hermeneutical approach was also useful to interpret the qualitative data. Hermeneutics, in social science, is concerned with how to make sense of the human experience, emphasizing attention to the social and historical contexts (Bryman, 2004; Kelly, 2002). According to Kelly, this approach is premised on the notion that people cannot make meaning of human experience without first understanding the contexts that shape the experience. It initially sounds confusing when Schmidt (2006) points out that the whole can only be understood from understanding the parts and the parts can only be understood from understanding the whole. What I get from Schmidt is that the whole and the parts are in continuous interaction to produce meaning. Therefore, relating broadcast practice to the political and economic realities helped to shed light on the central question of this thesis. These are described under broad themes in the coming chapters.

Conclusion

The processes that were followed to carry out this research have been presented in this chapter. The methods used and the rationale for choosing mixed methods instead of qualitative or quantitative methods have been explained. The limitations of these methods were also acknowledged and the measures taken to minimize their impact were explained. The remaining chapters are devoted to presenting the data and discussing the findings.

4. Regulatory Framework

Policies guiding GTV arise from laws and a culture that has evolved over the years through the activity of broadcasting. Some of these principles are unwritten. They derive from attitudes, beliefs and practices that determine the general direction of the television station. These laws and principles do not only outline a general plan of action, but also set out specific goals and the framework within which the goals are to be met. Laws include the National Liberation Council Decree 226, 1968 and subsequent amendments, the 1992 Constitution of Ghana and Acts of parliament. This chapter addresses the questions, *what legal and policy environment does GTV operate in?*

The Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Decree, 226

In a report on the Ghanaian media, Kafewo (2006:9) claims that “there is no specific public-service broadcasting remit for any of the broadcasters in Ghana.” Even though this assessment is inaccurate, it is an indication of the lack of a comprehensive legal or policy framework on PSB. The legal source of Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, operator of GTV is the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Decree or National Liberation Council Decree (NLCD) 226. The NLCD 226 mandates GTV to carry out cable services, to produce, acquire or commission programs and to enter into agreements with private individuals or organizations for the purposes of obtaining programs for transmission. The decree further makes it the “duty of the Corporation to provide as a *public service*, independent and impartial broadcasting services (sound and television) for general reception in Ghana” (Emphasis mine) (RG, 1968: Paragraph 8).

In its public service broadcasting role, the Corporation is expected to provide for –

- (a) Government pronouncements... or explaining the policies and actions of the Government
- (b) party political speeches dealing with the views and policies of the various political parties
- (c) speeches expressing different points of view on matters of controversy
- (d) matters of any kind (including religious ceremonies)... thought or belief in the country

(RG, 1968: Paragraph 9)

The problem with the decree, Apenteng (2007) observes, is that in the first place, it does not fully articulate GTV's position as a public service broadcaster. The absence of comprehensive public service goals in the NLCD 226 allows for arbitrariness as setting and realizing PSB goals are left to the whims of individuals charged with the operation of the station. These individuals are government appointees whose independence can be compromised. Besides, scattering PSB aims in bits of intentions in the decree and other unrelated documents is problematic. Certainly, policy is not always embodied in one coherent document. What is missing here is a mechanism to co-ordinate the policies. It will be seen later that there is no active link between the National Communications Authority, which is responsible for broadcast licensing and the National Media Commission, which is in charge of content regulation.

Secondly, the goals outlined above deal with only one aspect of public service television – access. The NLCD 226 does not provide guiding principles in the area of programming or accountability, which are important aspects of public service television.

Thirdly, it provides for government and commercial sources of funds, but fails to set clear boundaries for funding through commercial means. Such boundaries are necessary to prevent abuse. If television is to focus on and maintain its public service character, commercial funding must not be an overriding concern.

Finally, the compulsion to cover government programs without accompanying guidelines arms government with the excuse to lean on GTV to use it as a mouthpiece. In 1992, the Constitution of Ghana attempted to curb this.

The Constitution of Ghana

The coming into force of the 1992 Constitution meant that the supreme law of the land was now vested in the constitution. As a result, any laws that were inconsistent with the constitution became, to the extent of their inconsistency, null and void. Parts of the NLCD 226 were therefore overtaken by the constitution and these are pointed out below.

The Constitution provides for free speech, which shall not be distinct from the “freedom of the press and the media” (RG, 1992: Article 21). The right of citizens to information is provided for in the same article. The constitution recognizes the importance of a functioning and independent media in democracy so it devotes the entire chapter 12 to spelling out media freedom. In this chapter, the “freedom and independence of the media are hereby guaranteed” (RG, 1992: Article 162 (1)). Censorship is prohibited (162 (2)). This

freedom is tampered with limited restrictions in Article 164, which explains that the freedoms are “subject to laws” of Ghana and that these restrictions are “reasonably required in the interest of national security, public order, public morality and for the purpose of protecting the reputations, rights and freedoms of other persons.” This provision, as discussed later, forms the basis for broadcasters to obtain licenses for operation.

To further guarantee the independence of the media, the constitution provided for the National Media Commission to be established by an Act of Parliament. Whilst the Commission is protected from the “control of any person or authority in the performance of its functions” in Article 172, the constitution does not allow it to exercise control over the professional functions the media in Article 173.

The National Media Commission

The National Media Commission was established in 1993 by an Act of Parliament number 449, in accordance with Article 166 of the constitution to ensure “the freedom and independence of the media for mass communication and information” (RG, 1993). The Act takes the position of negative freedom and seeks to protect the state owned media in particular from political control (RG, 1993; 2(1) (c)). The Commission at the same time is expected to make sure that the state-owned media is fair in its coverage and reportage, and it affords all manner of persons equal access.

Functions of the Commission

As a regulator, the Commission is mandated to take the necessary steps to establish and maintain the highest broadcasting standards. It is further given arbitration functions; to receive and settle complains made by the public against the media or by one media institution against another. If a determination is made in favor of the complainant, the Commission orders the publication of a rejoinder, retraction and apology (RG, 1993). Unfortunately, the Commission lacks enforcing powers, a weakness that undermines its regulatory role in the area of content. There is the fear that with enforcing powers, the Commission could fall into the trap of censorship. According to the Executive Secretary, there is reluctance to issue any guidelines that seek to regulate content. In his view, such guidelines must be enforceable otherwise they are of no use (Personal interview). The aspects of the Commission’s guidelines on broadcasting standards that deal with programming fall short of setting benchmarks for GTV. As a result, even though GTV is tasked by law to provide public

service broadcasting, the absence of specific targets and the unwillingness of the Commission to engage in any activity that may be construed as censorship leave an important question unanswered: how is GTV policed to ensure that it sticks to its core mandate? Accountability is an issue to be returned to later.

National Communications Authority Act 524, 1996

The National Communications Authority was established to replace the Ghana Frequency Registration and Control Board (GFRCB) in 1996 to manage the radio spectrum with respect to communications, grant licenses for the operation of wire services, cable, radio, television, satellite and related communications technology in Ghana. In effect, no individual was expected to “establish, install, operate or otherwise use a communications system or provide communications services in Ghana unless he has been granted a license for the purpose by the Board” (RG, 1996: Section 9). The Authority sets out the technical specifications and standards to provide quality communications services and monitors the operations of licensed operators to ensure a sustained technical efficiency (ibid).

The Political Coloration of the NCA

A board of seven members who are all appointed by the President governs the NCA. The members include a Chairman, the Director General, a representative of the National Security Council and four technical experts (RG, 1996). The practice has been for the Minister of Communication to scout for persons and submit their names to the President who makes the appointments. The process makes no effort to be democratic or balanced. While this may allow for a high quality board to be put together since a diligent selection will ensure that only persons with the appropriate expertise end up on the board, Berger (2007) expresses concerns about its potential to undermine the independence of the Authority. In the past, the board was chaired by the Minister of Communications. Though this was changed in 2004 because of criticisms of conflict of interest (ibid), the Minister still has the power to “give to the Authority such directions of a general character as appear to him to be required in the public interest relating to the discharge of the functions of the Authority” (RG, 1996: Section 4). In the event that an application is refused or not renewed, the aggrieved person may appeal to the Minister who shall make a determination on the case within thirty (30) days. Granting the Minister the power to review the decision of the Authority supports fears of political control and the possibility of unfair practices.

Entry Regulation

The establishment of the NCA to license broadcast communications was an attempt to properly manage electronic communications in response to local agitations for private broadcast operations. Up to this point, the TV market structure was that of a monopoly with GTV as the only player. Even though there is no evidence to show that private television broadcast was banned by law, administratively private television was not allowed. Radio was first to break into the broadcast market and the experience of radio contributed to the opening up of the television market.

In 1992, the GFRCB assigned a frequency to the first private radio station, OTEC FM. In the same year, a National Seminar on Communication and Information Policy was held and it recommended that a National Communications Commission be set up to allocate and regulate frequencies. A major step was taken in 1994 with the drafting of a National Communications Authority Bill, but passage was stalled for two years.

Meanwhile, the GFRCB was not granting licenses for private broadcasting in spite of the many applications it received. The frustrations of private persons who had the desire to enter the broadcast market are reflected in the actions of the Independent Media Corporation of Ghana (IMCG), which begun broadcasting *Radio Eye* in November 1994 without a license. In their view, Article 162 of the Constitution of Ghana abolished licensing of media operations. The station was on air for a month when security forces raided it, shut it down and confiscated their equipment. Later in a court suit, the Supreme Court ruled that in spite of the constitutional provisions of Article 162(3), broadcast licensing was necessary because, in the opinion of the court, Article 162 must be read in consonance with Article 164, which provides that licensing the electronic media was a restriction “reasonably required for the purpose of protecting national security, public order, public morality and for the purpose of protecting the reputations, rights and freedoms of other persons.” The ruling ended the debate on licensing and begun a new chapter on the broader question of broadcast regulation.

There was the need to put appropriate regulations in place to facilitate the operations of private television broadcast and electronic communications in general. In January 1995, the Minister of Information set up a Preparatory Committee on Independent Broadcasting (PCIB) (Gadzekpo, 1997). Subsequently, a revised NCA bill was passed into law to rationalize the sub sector in October 1996.

The Act required persons to obtain licenses to provide electronic communication services. Such persons must be Ghanaians or operate businesses registered in Ghana or have

Ghanaian partners. A license for a limited period is issued once an application is made with the necessary documentation and a fee is paid. The Authority is required to acknowledge receipt in five (5) working days and to communicate its decision to the applicant within sixty (60) days (RG, 1996). In practice, this is different. There are several cases where applications have taken years for a determination to be made (Interviews, applicants). Concerns over saturating the market (especially when most applications were intended for operations in Accra and a few major cities) had put the NCA in a position where it was unwilling to grant more licenses, but could not inform applicants, because there were no legal justifications.

To escape this problem, the NCA conveniently announced in September 2005 the suspension of Broadcast Authorization for commercial broadcasting, ostensibly to carry out an exercise to switch over from analogue to digital television. The fact that the Authority did not provide any explanations to support how the impending exercise interfered with the licensing process indicates that the authority can still use administrative means to deny licenses. The lack of transparency in granting or rejecting applications is raised by Berger (2007). This may be bad news for prospective private commercial television operators, but it is good news for GTV since it competes with private commercial television in the same advertisement and audience markets. Perhaps more comprehensive guidelines for refusal and legal redress for applicants will be useful for transparency, to untie the hands of the Authority and to protect the rights of applicants.

The application process is given in both the NCA Act 524 and the National Communications Regulations. The Act provides the broad statements and the Regulations provide more details. The application includes a business plan with technical information, roll out plan and demonstrable ability to fund the project. At the discretion of the Authority, a public hearing may be held to collect the views of the public. Once granted, the applicant has within two (2) years to start operation. The license itself is subject to renewal every five (5) years. GTV, though, is exempted from licensing (NCA, 2003).

Content Regulation

By the process of licensing, the NCA is able to regulate entry into the broadcast market. Once the license is granted, content regulation falls into the hands of the NMC. According to the Authority, it is not interested in content regulation, but cooperation with the NMC “to ensure that appropriate standards are met” (NCA, 2008: 22). However, there is no formal or informal

cooperation between the two organizations for effective collaboration and hence regulation. As such, a regulatory vacuum is created and there is no effective way of ensuring that broadcasters stick to their programming philosophies. This has serious implications for innovation and program diversity.

The law establishing the NCA seems to be more concerned with technical standards than philosophical considerations, and with telecommunications rather than television broadcasting standards. Its general principles and guidelines are skewed towards telecommunications instead of broadcasting. None of the principles take into consideration the peculiar needs of television. For example, its principles on universal coverage, non-discrimination in the provision of service, competition, and privacy have all got to do with telecommunications. The Authority's categorization of television broadcast into Free-to-Air, Pay TV regional or national is only for technical purposes.

Within these categories, there is the need for additional regulations to prevent channels from ending up as clones of existing ones. GTV complains that the private stations have merely copied their programs and given them new titles (Interviews, GTV).

The National Media Commission could do more. Its publication of Broadcasting Standards needs to be updated. Much of it has got to do with journalistic ethics of fairness, objectivity, balance, good taste and decency, portrayal of sex, violence and crime. In terms of programs, it addresses broadcasting in general without singling out GTV as a public service. It encourages the broadcast of educational programs to supplement the national curriculum, religious programs that respect other religions and current affairs programs that maintain fairness and objectivity. It directs FTA television stations to assign a minimum of 50% their airtime to local content.

The Broadcasting Standards forbids advertisement in schools programs, except if the advertisements are placed at the beginning and end of the program and do not compromise the integrity of the program. For the same reason, it forbids sponsorship of the news except specialized segments like financial news, sports, the weather and traffic report. It insists on clearly identifying and distinguishing paid-for news from the rest of the program. Generally advertisements should not be more than ten (10) minutes of any given hour (NMC, n.d.).

Ghana National Media Policy

The Ghana National Media Policy (GNMP) is a comprehensive document that spells out the country's overall vision for the media. Recognizing the important role of the media, the whole policy is framed within social, cultural, economic and democratic development objectives. It regards the media as a public trust. Therefore, whether commercial or public service, the media are expected to pursue social goals albeit at varying degrees. It advocates the development and protection of public service broadcasting in order to maximize social, cultural and democratic benefits. This means that a single institution, GBC, should be organized and operated according to the principles of public service broadcasting.

The policy takes the view that a liberal, plural media environment can undermine local culture through the importation of foreign programs. As such, it imposes a minimum of 60% local program content for GTV and 50% for commercial television. Additionally, it urges public service television programming to reflect the multiplicity of Ghanaian culture, making use of local languages and decentralizing broadcast operations such that program production can originate from the regional and even the district levels.

Although the policy is well intentioned, additional regulations are required to carry out its vision. At the moment, its provisions have largely been ignored by GTV. Considering the regulation vacuum discussed above, the policy remains a series of unenforced intentions.

Conclusion

This chapter laid out the legal and policy framework that guide the organization and practice of public service television. These include the law establishing GBC, the Constitution of Ghana, and the GNMP. The law establishing GTV is dated and urgently needs revision. The Constitution of Ghana and the GNMP do not wholly address this. The former concerns itself with a free and uninhibited media, establishing regulatory institutions to facilitate media operations whilst the later expresses a broad vision for the media. All these need to be effectively enforced by regulatory agencies, but the membership of these bodies raise questions about their effectiveness as regulators. In addition, the lack of cooperation and coordination of regulatory activities of both bodies has resulted in the creation of a regulatory vacuum. None of these bodies is clearly and actively engaged in regulating programming. As a direct consequence, programming is not properly tethered to public service principles, but largely hinged on commercial considerations, chapter six reveals. Before then, how GTV is organized as a public service institution will be looked at in the next chapter.

5. GTV as a Public Service Institution

Chapter two laid out the characteristics of public service broadcasting institutions. The following chapter describes how these manifest in GTV. Its governance, independence, funding, universalism and mechanisms for accountability are described below.

Governance Structure

GTV is run by the Director of Television who is responsible to the Director General of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation. The Director General has the responsibility for the day-to-day administration of the GBC. The part of the NLCD 226 on the governance structure was amended by Article 168 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, taking the appointing powers of the ten (10) member governing body, including the Director General away from political authority into the hands of the National Media Commission. Appointments are not done through a transparent, public process. The Commission is only required to appoint members “in consultation with the President” (RG, 1992: Article 168). This exposes the process to abuse and the risk of packing the board with cronies and persons who are sympathetic to the views of government. Discontinuity in its membership is evidence of this. Members may be re-appointed to the board for as long as one political administration remains in power, but the entire board is replaced any time there is a change in government.

So far, GBC has not had an activist board that gets involved in its administration. This notwithstanding, the current set up, allows government to keep GBC and its television operations on a short leash, undermining any intentions of maintaining a truly impartial and independent public service broadcaster and lending credence to the charge that GBC is a state broadcaster and not a public service broadcaster.

Independence of GTV

The independence of a public service broadcaster relates to the structure and creative or editorial control. Whereas its governance is expected to be autonomous and insulated from political authority, creative and editorial control must be in the hands of professionals who are independent and protected from political and economic pressures. It is only in this case that it can remain impartial, serve the various publics and maintain its own credibility, which is crucial for its survival. “Public service broadcasting is a forum where ideas should be

expressed freely, where information, opinion and criticism circulate” (Price & Raboy, 2003: 3) and this can only be guaranteed under conditions of independence.

The change from authoritarianism to democracy brought about a change from a strictly controlled and censored state owned monopoly to a legally independent television broadcast station, at least, in terms of structure. Before 1992, ministers of state and government officials constantly paraded the corridors and studios of GTV, actively making inputs in editorial and creative decisions (Interviews, GTV). Editors and producers were summoned to the Castle (the seat of government) or Burma Camp (Military Headquarters) to answer questions about programs broadcast or news content.

By the time you finish the program, there is a car waiting for you. Sometimes the program doesn’t even end. They come straight to the control room [...]. The program will be taken off the air without prior notice. You will be directing a program and suddenly, your on-air monitor is showing something else. Immediately, you know that the phone will ring or people will appear to take you to the castle and it will happen.

(Interview, GTV)

Producers and editors were constantly harassed and intimidated.

Of course, it is an interrogation. They ask you all sorts of questions. They want to know who you have been talking to, where you have been, who you met. They want names. They will question you until you make one little slip and they say, uh huh, then they have the excuse to hang you.

(Interview, GTV)

Understandably, the historical experience of the absence of media freedom (Ansah, 1991) influenced the provision of guarantees of freedom in the 1992 constitution (Alhassan, 2005). This was construed as negative freedom, that is, freedom from political authority. The creation of the independent NMC was supposed to insulate the media and ensure it is not subject to pressure from government. But old habits die hard. Even when Ghana returned to democracy, the period from 1992 to 2000 saw the National Democratic Congress (NDC) government struggling to keep its hands off the national broadcaster. There is one particular incident that is often cited in the GTV newsroom when Ekow Spio Garbrah, then Minister of Information insisted that a news story should be edited his way. Unfortunately, the story, which involved the first lady, got an unfavorable response from the public thereby

embarrassing government when it was aired. For this Minister, it was his last time in the newsroom, but not the last time government tried to influence content.

The New Patriotic Party (NPP) was more subtle when it came to power in the year 2000. It wanted to depart from the ways of the NDC and carve a name for itself as media friendly, but Berger (2007) cites cases of intimidation and administrative discipline of journalists while NPP was in power. Direct censorship shifted to soft pressure, which was often to get coverage for political events of incumbents or to stop coverage of opposition activities (Berger, 2007), to influence line up or to seek explanations to broadcasts. Physical presence changed to ‘friendly’ phone calls (Interviews, GTV). Although reactions from the NPP government was typically after the broadcast, such ‘informal’ and personal contact made outside laid down complaints procedures only serve to intimidate producers and editors.

When NDC returned to power in 2009, the threat of political pressure took an upward turn. The host of a discussion program, *Talking Point*, was removed. In spite of public statements by GTV that the new government had had no hand in the decision, privately, government disapproval of the host is not denied. Not long after, another program (*The Breakfast Show*) broadcasting live was truncated on the orders of the Director General of GBC because “the panel for the program was not balanced.” It had more opposition than government representatives (<http://topics.myjoyonline.com/news/200902/26700.asp>). The Director General went on to say that producers of the program have also been changed. Even though he insisted that the decision to take the program off the air and the subsequent removal of the producers were entirely his, he admitted to taking a phone call from the deputy propaganda secretary of the ruling NDC. The phone conversation, he explained, took place after he had taken the program off the air and not before. Either way, it is unwelcome.

It amounts to putting undue pressure on broadcast professionals in the course of their duties. Rønning (2007) argues that the best practice is to channel complaints through a formal process and never through personal contact. Any individual(s) or group(s) who feel that their views have not been adequately represented can activate their right to reply. Both the Constitution of Ghana (RG, 1992: Article 162(2)) and the National Media Commission’s Broadcasting Standards (NMC, n.d.: Paragraph 2(c)) guarantee this right and there is evidence in the Supreme Court ruling, NPP vs. GBC to indicate that this process works. Rønning (2007) points out that such administrative actions constitute prior control. They are inimical to free speech and are unacceptable. Frustrations of editors and producers are

evident in expressions like: “What can you do?” “As for the pressure, it will always be there.” “You should know how to play your game” (Interviews, GTV). The important choices editors and producers need to make in the course of their duties are anything but a game and for that matter should be based purely on professionalism.

The Managing Editor of the *Insight* newspaper and the Executive Secretary of the NMC confirm attempts by government to influence the media. “Whether it is a commercial broadcaster, public service broadcaster or a newspaper, politicians will always look for ways to influence you.” (Interview, Managing Editor, *Insight*)

“They are only interested in two things: 1. how to maximize the good stories that come out of the media about them and 2. how to limit the bad stories. Politicians everywhere have the tendency to use the media as instruments of government. [...] In other jurisdictions, the law is allowed to work so journalists are bold to resist such attempts.”

(Executive Secretary, NMC)

The problem is not just government seeking control, but an unwillingness of the broadcaster to resist government attempts. The Executive Secretary of NMC explains that after so many years of control, GTV has simply assumed a dependence mentality. Even though there is every legal provision to protect them from interference, it will still take some time for management and staff to fully appreciate the freedoms they are guaranteed in law and let it reflect in their professional practice. In his words, “the sovereign Constitution insulates the state media and other media operators from governmental control [...] it’s left for the people to live it” (Executive Secretary, NMC).

Whilst government has not totally shed its tendency to control GTV, the broadcaster has also failed to assert itself. There used to be a master servant relationship and feelings from this past still linger on (Interview, Kwame Karikari). Rather than fighting for their professional independence, editors and producers have adopted a self-censored attitude. Such actions as displayed by the Director General of GBC undermine the confidence of broadcast professionals and are certainly not an incentive for producers and editors to stand up to pressure from vested interests.

The other form of pressure is economic. How GTV is funded is presented below and how economic pressures manifest in its operations is also discussed in various parts of chapter six.

Funding Structure

Ghana Television needs three things to function as a proper public service broadcaster: “funding, funding and funding” (Interview, former NMC chairperson). Funding is important for GTV to carry out its mandate and it must be structured in a way not to “have the piper calling the tunes” (ibid). NLCD 226 established a mixed revenue system, which allows the broadcaster to generate funds internally through advertising in addition to government subvention and TV license fees (RG, 1968). At the moment, the station depends decreasingly on government funds, increasingly on internally generated funds and very little on license fees. Until 2007, GBC kept the accounts of both radio and television together making it hard to assess the cash flow of television separately.

Government Subvention

Government subvention used to be the main source of revenue covering capital expenditure and operational cost. GBC negotiates for funding from the Ministry of Finance through the Ministry of Information and the funds go to GTV and the respective radio stations. Government funding kept reducing until it stopped finally except for payment of staff salaries and occasionally some funds to meet capital expenditure. In response to declining government support, GBC was forced to increase internal revenue generation. With radio running at losses, the bulk of the internally generated funds come from GTV.

Table 5.1: Government Subvention vs. Internally Generated Funds

Year	Government(%)	IGF(%)
1990*	90	10
1995*	75	25
2004*	50	50
2005*	59	41
2006*	51	49
2007	57	36
2008	52	48

*Figures for both TV and radio. Sources: GBC, 1995; World Bank 2005; GBC Finance department

Under the liberal policies of the 1990s public corporations were either privatized or mandated to generate funds internally. By 1999, there seemed to be no turning back on government decision to stop funding GTV even though a few years earlier, it had justified why funding the public broadcaster was necessary and had expressed a strong commitment to do so.

I assure you that government will strive to do even more to enable GBC become a more efficient medium for the mobilization of Ghanaians for sustained development [...] There is hardly any country in the world where public service broadcasting is not offered as a constitutional requirement. Even in countries where there is more than enough financial capital for private broadcasting, governments will finance public service broadcasting.

(Quakyi 1995; 3)

Even as government professed its commitment, the figures painted a declining government funding. The decline took on a new dimension when at a World Bank sponsored seminar in 1999, the Information Minister then, John Mahama “was categorical in stating his government’s commitment to the privatization” of GBC (Alhassan, 2005). The shift in policy within that space of time, Alhassan explains, is due to consistent pressure from the World Bank for government to divest itself of state enterprises. Under the National Institutional Renewal Program (NIRP), a consortium was engaged to “facilitate the commercialization process of Ghana Broadcasting Corporation” (GMA-BDC, 2000). It is instructive that two out of the three core objectives had to do with funding and it was not by accident that the first objective was to get “GBC to finance its operations and any future investments without further government subsidies” (GMA-BDC, 2000; 2). The second objective, which was on accountability, also passed through the (value for money) funding filter. However, the social, cultural and democratic dividends that accrue from public service broadcasting outweigh any economic benefits and that makes value for money an inappropriate assessment criterion for public service television.

The consortium compiled its report in December 2000 around the time that the NDC left power. The market oriented NPP which took over government was even more determined to wean public corporations of their dependence on the consolidated fund. An outsider, Charles Bucknor, formerly in charge of Fontonfrom TV, a commercial, cable television network based in Kumasi, was brought in to head Ghana Television. With his background in commercial television, Charles Bucknor’s mandate was to shepherd GTV as the parent organization, GBC, goes through the transition from a government subvented agency to a self-funding broadcaster. The new Director of Television started a series of reforms:

- Programs (like *Hobby Time* and *Cantata*) that did not have sponsorship were ended.
- In-house productions were reduced to free up airtime
- The available airtime was sold to independent producers to telecast their programs.

Bucknor's plan seemed to be plain and simple: cut costs, increase revenues (Interviews, GBC).

At the state level, government took the NIRP further when in 2006 it passed the Subvented Agencies Act, Act 706 into law. The law echoes the libertarian distrust of government to efficiently carry out any activity (Keane, 1991). By this law, the Minister for Public Sector Reform was given sweeping powers to expedite reform of subvented organizations and even to close them down. In terms of funding, the Act gives the Minister the powers to scale down the support that subvented agencies receive from the public purse. This Act had wide implications for GTV. It provided the legal basis for a complete overhaul of GTV according to the wishes of the Minister. Decisions concerning public service television were placed in the hands of a Minister and not through parliament. However, labor politics ensured that the report was never implemented. Yet, government funding did not improve and the station was left "orphaned" (Interviews, GTV). Facing serious financial pressure as the cost of production and inflation kept rising, the station stepped up its internal revenue generation (Interview, Director General).

Internally Generated Funds

Internally generated funds are mainly through adverts, sponsorship, transmission and masts space rentals, news coverage and public announcements. Over the past few years, news coverage has consistently been the third most significant source of income only after spot adverts and program sponsorship. The problem with receiving payment for coverage and broadcast of an event as part of the news is that it blurs the lines between impartial news stories and public relations. The logic for paid news is simple: "If a business wants us to cover their programs from which they will benefit, then it makes sense for us to get a fair share of that benefit" (Editor, GTV). GTV insists that such stories are confined to the business news segment, but it shows how commercial receipts have become an imperative with the decreasing government funding and near insignificant levels of license fee collection. At the moment, television "programs are funded wholly from internally generated funds" (GBC, 2008).

Table 5.2: Sources of Internally Generated Funds

Year	Sponsorship (%)	Spot Ads (%)	News Coverage (%)	Documentary (%)	Others (%)	Total % =100 Amount (USD)
2005	20.9	23.2	unavailable	unavailable	52.1	2,155,130.94
2006	24.7	23.2	unavailable	unavailable	52.1	4,269,154.23
2007	40.5	46.9	5.1	4.8	2.7	3,483,409.98
2008	42.7	43.3	5.2	5.2	3.6	4,592,950.79

USD/GHC rate = 1.2 Source: GBC Finance Department

TV License Fee

The Television Licensing Decree 89 and subsequent amendment in the same year requires every business or individual to obtain a license for the installation and use of a television set. It further makes it mandatory for manufacturers, sellers and repairers to procure a dealer's license. Customs, manufacturers and dealers are obligated to submit returns to the licensing authority (GBC) containing quantity of imports and sales with the addresses of importers and buyers not later than fifteen (15) days after the end of a month. The decree prohibits television sale unless the buyer has a license in respect of the purchase or the TV set for sale carries an existing license. It mandates the police or authorized persons to carry out inspections to ensure compliance (RG, 1966; RG, 1966a; RG, 1991).

This law was never fully implemented. The appropriate regulations needed to establish reporting systems were not put in place and no license fee was determined until the early 90s when a fee of 30 pesewas (about USD 0.25) was set. Even after this period, television tax as a source of funding has been largely unsuccessful because of weak collection mechanisms and a low tax rate. There is an absence of an up to date database of television set ownership, a proper national address system and a general lack of enthusiasm by GBC to collect the fee. The licensing fee accounts for less than 0.5% of IGF. Receipts were as low as less than twenty thousand dollars in 2006 and 2007, and even lower in 2005 when it amounted to less than five thousand dollars (GBC Finance Department).

The Director General of GBC compares the current fee of thirty pesewas (USD 0.25) to other countries, as shown in figure 5.1, and dismisses the tax as an otherwise reliable source of revenue (Personal interview). The real value since it was set in 1991 has declined. Even without an increment, the GMA-BDC (2000a) report found that as at 2000, the inflationary value of the fee was about four cedis and sixty pesewas (USD 3.80), that is,

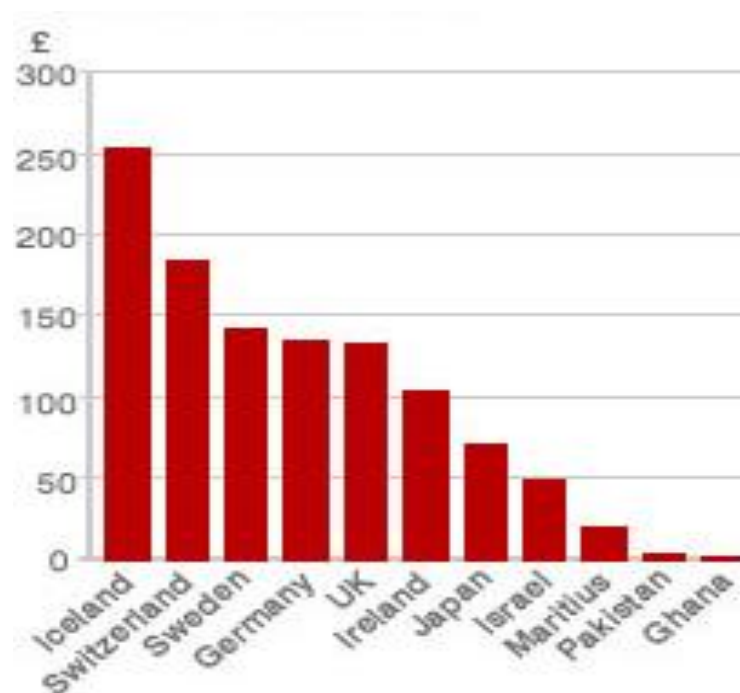
fifteen times the current value. Yet, parliament refuses to increase the fee and the cost of collection is more than the fee. As a direct consequence, payment has largely been reduced to a voluntary effort by television set owners and compliance is low. Even though defaulters are liable to a fine of GHC10 (USD 8.33) or serve a jail term of one year upon conviction, no one is on record to have been prosecuted.

For the entire period of the fieldwork in January 2009, the TV license office was locked up and empty, ostensibly, the occupant had had a fatal accident and was yet to be replaced. A peep through the window did not reveal an office where serious business was carried out. It had three desks and armchairs. Besides a few papers on one desk, there were no office inputs in sight. A possible solution to the TV license problem came from the most unlikely source, the General Manager of TV3.

Digital television offers a perfect opportunity for GTV to establish a data base to collect license fees. Now all analogue TV sets must acquire set top boxes. Why can't we simply serialize the decoders and use the opportunity to take stock of all TV sets in the system. And then from now on, we can capture all the new ones that come in.

(Interview, R. K. Nyantekyi)

Figure 5.1: TV License Fees Around the World



Source: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/6241013.stm>

This certainly can actively revive funding through the license fee. Sponsorship and advertisements may be important sources of funds, but they pose a direct threat to public service programming when they become dominant. Some deserved attention could be given to TV licensing fees collection because even at the current rate, substantial income can be generated if the fee is restructured and some efficiency is brought into the collection.

Accountability Mechanisms

The issue of accountability is closely linked to independence and funding. With commercial broadcasters, it may be a straight forward case of broadcasters returning profit to investors while keeping their eyes on audience response. With public service broadcasting, political, social and cultural interests make accountability more complex. For GTV, it is a multi-layered system involving direct public input, the Ministry of Information (MoI), the National Media Commission and ultimately parliament. In examining audience response, GTV looks beyond the numbers and attempts to judge the mood of the different interest groups through such informal feedback channels as letters, phone calls and articles from viewers. These informal channels afford citizens the opportunity to make a direct input in the accountability system. For example, complaints by GTV viewers have caused GTV to respond to issues concerning the quality of reception and even to discontinue certain programs (Interviews, GTV). While these may be important, a consistent, formal and transparent, accountability mechanism is needed to ensure that GTV carries out its mandate. This exists on two levels: accountability to parliament through the Ministry of Information and accountability to the National Media Commission.

There is an administrative link between GTV and the MoI in which the latter has oversight responsibility. GTV submits annual operational and financial reports to the MoI through GBC. Budget estimates, expenditure requests and loans cannot be negotiated for without the ministry. The release of funds follows the same channel backwards. Two issues arise. First, the membership of the Commission raises concerns about its effectiveness as a regulator and second, the overlapping roles of the NMC and the MoI are a source of potential conflict.

The Commission is composed of fifteen members, three of whom must be members of parliament, two to be nominated by the president and two by the Ghana Journalist Association. The rest are representatives from different organizations and groups including the Advertising Association of Ghana, the Ghana Bar Association, the Christian Group,

Federation of Muslim Council and Ghana National Association of Teachers. This is set out in both Article 166 of the Ghanaian Constitution and the NMC Act 1993, which leave the Commission to elect its own chairperson. Nomination unto the Commission is kept away from public scrutiny. The individual organizations nominate their members through their own internal processes. The lack of transparency in this process is not helpful for the Commission's own accountability and perceptions about its independence and competence. Its composition is also a source of worry because the quest for varied representation diminishes its regulatory expertise, the World Bank (2005) points out. Finally, the presence of two government appointees and three members of parliament puts nearly a third of the commissioners in a position that is uncomfortably close to politics, especially when seven (7) out of the fifteen (15) members constitute a quorum and matters before the commission are determined by a simple majority of members present.

The other issue is the potential conflict that arises from the parallel levels of formal accountability to the Ministry of Information and the National Media Commission. By its administrative relationship, the Ministry sees itself to be in charge of GBC and for that matter GTV. The MoI therefore demands accountability from GTV. This demand appears legitimate and fair. It argues that if GTV is getting funds from the Ministry, then GTV must account for how the funds are expended. However, such demands only provide a convenient excuse for government to influence the broadcaster as exemplified by meetings held between the Ministry and the broadcaster in 2009 over issues relating to content, particularly, the station's inability to broadcast live the President's address at the United Nations General Assembly. The Ministry then set up a five member committee to look into the matter. This put the Ministry on a collision course with the NMC which directed the station not to cooperate. After some debate, the MoI reluctantly withdrew the committee. Even as it retreated, it insisted that its actions were right since it is the supervising Ministry of GTV.

Accountability to parliament is through the MoI. When parliament has concerns about the operations of GTV, the Minister of Information is summoned to parliament to answer questions.

A future law may need to clarify GTV's relationship with the Ministry, preferably sever the Ministry's administrative ties with GTV and place it wholly under the National Media Commission. By a periodic internal assessment to be verified by the NMC, GTV will be formally accountable. As it stands now, GTV can carry out any activity and still claim to be a public service broadcaster.

Universality – the Station of the Nation

Universality in PSB may be understood in terms of technical accessibility (geographic coverage) or program appeal. It has its basis in citizenship rights and the equality of all citizens (Price & Raboy, 2003). In terms of coverage, public service television is expected to provide services to the entire country without prejudice. Understood in terms of programs, it offers a ‘common room’ for the public where citizens can share their experiences and to debate ideas and concepts for the general benefit of society. Programs must not only be about or for certain categories of people but seek to target the entire population. This aspect of universality is dealt with extensively in chapter six. For now, GTV’s ability to send television signals to every home in Ghana is examined.

GTV broadcasts on the VHF band. A network of transmitters and transposers carry television signals to all parts of the country. There are twenty-eight (28) transmitters and (10) transposers crisscrossing Ghana in figure 5.3. Taking universalism to mean the ability of the broadcaster to cover the entire country, GTV can reasonably claim that it has nationwide coverage. However, the quality of reception and economic factors undermine the realization of this principle. The combined strength of the thirty-eight (38) TV transmitters and transposers do not adequately serve the population since there is ample evidence of long outdoor antennas mounted on rooftops to receive TV signals. Even within Accra pictures are not clean.

In March 2009, more meaning was given to universal access when GTV debuted on South Africa’s DSTV, available on channel 142. Subscribers to DSTV can watch GTV via satellite from any part of the country. Also, GTV has begun a pilot digital free to air transmission that can be received within 15km radius of Broadcasting House in Accra. When completed, GTV will switch off its analogue signal, in line with the International Telecommunications Union Geneva Agreement 2006 (GE06) to migrate to a digital platform by 2015. So far, the digital broadcast is by satellite and does not use line-of-sight transmitters.

However, all these efforts to cover the entire country are diminished by the inability of large sections of the population to access GTV programs due to low incomes and the lack of infrastructure. In the first place, electricity supply is not universal. Ghana is largely rural with about 80% of rural population and 14% of urban population yet to be connected to the national electricity grid. Incomes are low with almost half the population living on less than one dollar a day and well over two thirds living on less than two dollars a day (UNDP, 2009).

Accessibility becomes more of a social and economic issue than technical. The average cost of a TV set puts the medium beyond the reach of many.

Table 5.3: Average Cost of TV set

Screen Size	Cathode Ray Tube		Flat screen	
	New(USD)	Used(USD)	New(USD)	Used(USD)
14" – 29"	120 – 500	60 – 300	unavailable	unavailable
30" – 40"	500 –	300 – 500	1700 – 2200	800 – 1500
42" – 49"	unavailable	unavailable	2400 – 4000	1800 – 2000
50 and	unavailable	unavailable	3500 – 5000	unavailable

Compiled by researcher in January 2009.

As at 1995, TV set ownership stood at one and a half million and the average viewership was six people per set (GBC, 1995). More than a decade later, less than half of the Ghanaian population has TV sets (GSS, 2009). GTV may have a technical presence in all the regions of Ghana (figure 5.2), but beyond geography, actual universal access is a long way from reality because of the reasons given above. The realization of this principle in some respect goes beyond the capabilities of the channel.

Figure 5.2: Captured GTV Website



What it is capable of doing, GTV has not explored. The Internet opens up many possibilities to broadcasters; expanding program offerings, online advertising, increasing self-promotion and making the channel available wherever there is Internet access. The Director General of the GBC indicated that the corporation has intentions of making more use of the Internet in the future, but this does not seem to be a priority because there were no concrete plans that could be pointed to. GTV does not have a website of its own. Since 2007 till the time of the time this report was put together, a link GBC's website, <http://www.gbcghana.com>, directs you to a page that says "coming soon." The position of the link itself is not an easy find. Figure 5.2 shows a screen capture of the site.

Figure 5.3: Map of Ghana Showing Transmitter and Transposer Sites



Note: The map shows the approximate locations of transmitters and transposers.
Source: Map adapted from d-maps.com, transmitter location & capacity from GBC engineering.

Conclusion

This chapter examined how GTV is organized to meet public service television principles. It came out that first, existing laws establish clear intentions of public service, but their incomprehensive definition of the objects of GTV and the boundaries within which it should operate do not encourage the growth of GTV as a public service institution.

Second, although laws have been passed to insulate GTV from external pressures, the continued link of its umbilical cord to a government ministry has implications for its autonomy.

Third, the thorny issue of funding is yet to be resolved and the result is that GTV is pursuing unfettered commercialization, which potentially undermines its ability to carry out public service broadcasting.

Finally, in the economic environment of Ghana, technical universality is meaningless without economic empowerment. GTV transmission covers the entire country, but access to television is mainly urban with about half of the population excluded from the service.

Evidently, GTV has challenges. Attempts have been made to correct some of them. Others still remain. The next chapter will examine GTV's programming to see how these challenges shape programming decisions.

6. Programming

Public Service Television Programming

The point has been made earlier that public service television both describes an institution and program content. In the foregoing chapter, the institutionalization of Ghana Television as a public service television was looked at. In the following discussion, GTV's programming will be examined in line with what is expected of public service television. These expectations were described earlier as engaging in all inclusive programming practices.

Examining GTV's program output was done with data generated through the methods discussed in chapter three. Program or transmission schedules obtained reflected a mixed programming philosophy. The diversity inherent in mixed programming posed analytical challenges. Television has the ability to combine different genres and program formats into a day's schedule. Even with thematic channels such as Africa Magic and Movie Magic of South Africa, the movies broadcast on a given day are of different genres and sub genres. The wide variety of television programs means that program types do not have universal names. Genre is used here simply to refer to program type or category, which is a negotiation between program makers and the audience (Fiske, 1991) and format describes a production blueprint for a program, which can hardly be varied unless the intention is to develop a new format (Bignell, 2008).

A quick glance at the week-long schedules of GTV (Appendix A) shows that programs broadcast on each day range from news, sports, movies, documentaries, talk shows and religious broadcasts. It would have been impossible within the resource and capability of this project to examine every single program. What others like Roscoe (2004) and Buckingham (2000) have done is to examine single programs. Rather than examining individual programs, the approach of this thesis is to analyze program or transmission schedules since the focus of this thesis is not on the content of individual programs, but on whether and how GTV fulfils its public service obligations through programming. The objective is to describe the mix of programs transmitted on GTV and comment on the ways in which programming reflects a public service programming ethos. Program schedules prove an important resource in this exercise because they offer an overview of the programs broadcast and give an indication of the programming philosophy of a given station.

The schedule includes program title, transmission date, duration and time of broadcast. It also contains program lead, which describes what the program is about. The schedule does not replace the viewing experience. Neither can the detailed content of programs be determined from it. Yet, its usefulness is not diminished because the transmission schedule has a character and a voice of its own; a character in the sense that it reflects the nature and focus of a television channel and a voice because it speaks to the public about what to expect and what not to expect. Its importance is underscored by Paterson (1990: 30) who observed that a carefully planned schedule made the difference between the BBC playing second fiddle to ITV and the BBC overtaking ITV to regain “a dominant position in the competition for audience.” This makes it also an indispensable resource to analyze the programming strategies employed by GTV.

The schedules of the selected week are presented below in appendix A.

Scheduling for TV

Television scheduling involves the management of broadcast time from the first to the last item transmitted. Transmission time may range from a few hours a day to a twenty-four hour cycle. In 1992, GTV’s total broadcast time was five (5) hours from Monday to Friday and twelve (12) hours at weekends. By 1996, this had increased to nineteen (19) hours throughout the week and twenty (20) hours the following year. GTV plans to introduce twenty-four hour broadcasts at the end of 2009. For now, transmission runs on a twenty (20) hour cycle, from Monday through Sunday, starting from 5am and closing at one o’clock the next morning (Figure 6.1; Appendix A). This adds up to a total of eight thousand and four hundred minutes (8400). However, a short fall of five (5) minutes on 21 January, 2009, brings the total transmission time for the week under discussion to eight thousand, three hundred and ninety-five (8395) minutes. Within this period, a variety of programs of different durations from different sources were broadcast to different audiences. It must be mentioned that not the total 8,395 minutes were taken up by programs. Commercials, station identification and promos took up part of this time.

Effective scheduling is critical to public service television because of diversity requirements, high quality demands and restrictions that may be imposed on it by law in terms of limited commercial pursuits. Such limitations mean that public service television needs to be more creative if it will continue to attract audiences and remain viable. Like their commercial counterpart, public service television employs programming strategies

(sometimes) to attract the largest possible audience. This may appear counter intuitive to the objective of public service programming: to serve not just the largest audiences, but also minority audiences. Implicit in this is that the size of its audience should not matter to a public service broadcaster. On the contrary, size does matter. The size of its audience is at the very core of its legitimacy, which is also tied to funding. Legitimacy does not simply mean justifying its existence by delivering the largest audiences to advertisers, but delivering enough audiences to justify funding (Vane & Gross 1994). In other words, by fulfilling its objectives as defined by its remit, public service television proves its viability. Viability for a public service broadcaster should not be interpreted as commercial viability, but public viability where its values are not determined by profit but public fulfillment. This means that public service broadcasting programming is successful when it meets broad national goals, targets specific audiences in addition to wide audiences and is for public good. In the case of GTV, an ill defined remit and the lack of guaranteed funding means that it must overlook these ideals and worry about audience size and advertising just like TV3 and Metro TV, its main competitors. In the absence of clear objectives, GTV scheduling practices show worrying traits of commercialism. Some of the scheduling strategies it employs are dayparting, audience targeting, stripping and tentpoling. The main ones are discussed below.

Scheduling Strategies

It is a useful exercise to break the day into component segments and schedule programs to reach the different groups of people who are most likely to watch TV at the different times. It is understood at GTV that the location of people and the activities they are involved in makes certain programs more suitable than others at different times of the day.

People wake up around five and get ready for the day. Between six and eight, they are travelling to work[...] They have TV sets in their shops and in their offices[...] At 5pm, they close for the day and head back home. The whole family will probably watch the seven o'clock news together and spend the rest of the evening watching TV, so you must know what to put on air. Around 10pm, you expect that children are asleep so you can put certain programs on air[...] But these are not static. Of course, lifestyles change.

(Head of Programs, GTV)

This is the general philosophy that informs how the day is broken into different parts for scheduling purposes. The admission of changing lifestyles suggests the need for a scientific

and up to date demographic information and audience behavior, which can be factored into schedule planning. Without empirical evidence to determine audience characteristic and behavior, scheduling depends largely on experience and what can best be described as intuition, confirmed in a statement of another staff. “We know. We have done this for a long time, so we know [...] The research department is under resourced, but we know, we have our ways. We have done this for a long time” (Interview, GTV).

Although an examination of transmission schedules shows evidence of (perhaps unintended) dayparting, discussions with GTV staff reveal that formally breaking the twenty-hour transmission period into time segments for programming purposes is not strictly practiced. The reason is because the dayparts are not institutionally defined to guide everyone on the supply chain. Back office staff use audience size to divide transmission time into ‘peak’ and ‘off-peak’ periods. This division appears to be for the purpose of setting airtime rates and not to guide schedule planning. For planners of the transmission schedule, the decision to put a program at a particular time slot is determined foremost by its commercial value, the availability of the slot and other ethical and technical considerations. In the absence of clearly defined time segments, practices in the UK and the US have been used as guidelines, taking into consideration the peak and off-peak delineation by the Commercial Department of GTV.

Dayparting

The schedule can be broken into four main parts; morning, daytime, primetime and late night. These have sub-divisions as given in figure 6.1. An attempt is made to segment the transmission time to correspond with GTV’s major program junctions and the Commercial Department’s time segmentation. Program junction refers to a point in television broadcast when programming focus changes. For example, I categorize the time from 5am to 8.30am as Morning TV. During this time, GTV broadcasts live its flagship program, *the Breakfast Show*. It is a magazine show aimed at providing content to help its audience prepare for the day. At 8.30am, programming switches to a feed from Deutsche Welle Television (DW-TV). The rest of the day is characterized by educational programming, documentaries and talk shows (Daytime TV) until 6pm when programming changes again. Primetime Television starts with *News Highlights* at 6pm. There is the main news at 7pm, followed by some talk shows and entertainment programs until 10.30pm when the *Late News* is presented. Programming changes again to mainly religious broadcasts.

Figure 6.1: GTV Dayparts

AM							PM												AM	
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1
Morning TV			Daytime Television										Primetime					Late Night		
Early			Late Morning				Early afternoon				Late afternoon									

The morning can be further divided into Early Morning (5am – 6am) and Late Morning (8.30 – 12noon). The same can be done for afternoon programming: Early Afternoon (1pm – 3pm) and Late Afternoon (4pm – 6pm)

Morning TV 6am – 8.30am

News from WorldNet Television feature every morning throughout the week and at the weekend. It is then followed by one of the following religious broadcast: *Gospel Trail*, *Catholic Digest*, *Pentecost Hour*, *Pranic Healing*, *Eckanka or Voice of Healing*. Other religious programs are broadcast on Saturday and Sunday. These are *Synagogue*, *Apostolic Heritage*, *Hour of Restoration*, *Truth*, *Voice of Healing*, *Winning Ways*, *Apostolic Voice* and *Channel of Hope*. The religious programs are expected to “synchronize” with viewers’ morning devotion (Interview, Head of Programs). It is assumed that individuals and families have morning prayers so the religious broadcasts are a natural accompaniment. After the religious programs, the morning’s main attraction, *the Breakfast Show*, is broadcast. This is an in-house magazine program with several segments for health, lifestyle, politics and news making the headlines.

The Breakfast Show is to prepare people for the day. We deal with health, sanitation, topical issues. For instance, people don’t take exercises seriously, but it is important. A lot of diseases can be avoided if people will exercise everyday. That is why we begin with aerobics. You can do it anywhere, right there in your bedroom. Then we have the news, the newspaper review and interviews, which we bring people on to talk about various things.

(Interview, Producer)

The magazine format allows segmentation and this fits well into the fast paced activities of the morning. In the morning, people do not have enough time to sit through one long program like a movie. So as they move around the house, they are able to watch specific segments that interest them without having to sit through the whole show. The segment on physical exercise invites the audience to join the studio performers for a quick workout. A newspaper review segment brings them up to speed with events happening around them and

gives them heads up on upcoming events. Information on health, on-going programs in the country, and other topics are also packaged into segments linked together by a presenter. They pick and choose what to watch as they prepare to leave for work. *The Breakfast Show* ends Morning TV and Daytime TV takes over.

Daytime 8.30pm – 6.00pm

Daytime television is made up of a variety of programs ranging from sports, documentaries and educational TV. Appendix B has a complete list. It was explained that less people follow GTV programs at this time and these are normally people who “have more time on their hands like people who are home[...]. In the offices, the television is mute or the volume is very low so you give them programs that they can enjoy the pictures[...]. When something attracts their attention, they will increase the volume” (Interview, Head of Programs).

A critical part of daytime programming is what GTV refers to as “after school hours,” the hours between 3pm and 5pm. This is the time children return from school. They are by themselves and are mainly unsupervised until their parents return from work in the evening. Television serves a useful purpose for these children. However, children’s programming is virtually absent on the schedule during this time. Instead, talk shows, movies, sports and religious programs mainly occupy this period. In interviews with producers, most of them were found wanting for examples. Many of them were quick to cite *Children’s Channel*, which is broadcast on Saturdays. One finally came up with two weekday examples; “we have *Scripps Spelling Bee* and we also have the repeat broadcast of *PSI*. They are all telecast during the after school hours” (Interview, Producer). However, these two programs are not in-house productions. Neither are they commissioned. The broadcast of these programs were not initiated by GTV to meet a policy on programming for children. In the past, there were programs like *Children’s Own*, *Toddler’s Time* and *Hobby Time*. But all these programs have been rested due to lack of sponsorship. The two examples given by the producer are externally conceived and produced. The producers of *PSI-DL* and *Scripps Spelling Bee* pay GTV to transmit these programs. According to the schedules, (see Appendix A) there are no other children’s programs in the late afternoon slot for the rest of the week.

Primetime 6pm – 10.30pm

Primetime describes the time before and after the news at seven until the late news at half past ten. This is the time most people are home and there is the potential to reach the greatest number of people. According to Vane & Gross (1994) the programs that find their way unto this time slot are high audience attracting programs and for public service television, sometimes high quality, prestigious programs, which may not necessarily attract huge audiences. GTV's primetime slot shows variety. Programs range from documentaries to drama, quiz shows to sports. While this may look good for variety, a closer examination reveals a high concentration of certain types of programs, further discussed later. Besides, nearly the entire programs do not originate from GTV. Most of them are independent productions for which the suppliers buy airtime to broadcast. This leads to the conclusion that just like commercial broadcasters, financial gains through direct airtime sales to program makers displace concerns for airing programs because they enrich society. The reactions of some producers and members of management to this issue were defensive and to some extent confrontational as they misconstrued the desire to understand the situation as an accusation of failure on the part of GTV.

The problem is money. How can we produce programs if we don't have money?

Before, these corridors were buzzing with activities. Not anymore. Give us the money and we will give you the programs.

(Interview, GTV)

Have you paid your TV license? Programs cost money.

(Interview, GTV)

My brother, we must survive. We must pay our electricity bills, we must maintain our studios, motivate our staff, now we give them a little extra bonus. We have huge expenses to meet. Government doesn't give us money for programs. We have to pay for every program we produce by ourselves and we need to find the money to do so. Some of the things on TV we don't like them ourselves, but that is how we are able to stay on air.

(Interview, Director General, GBC)

Asked to clarify, specific mention was made of alcohol advertisements. With the point clearly made and with the knowledge that GTV still faces financial pressures, it can safely be assumed that programming will continue to be dictated by financial considerations at the

expense of public service objectives. In the absence of a deliberate effort to develop programs in-house, undertake co-productions or collaborations, pursue diligent acquisitions and commissions in order to meet a predetermined program mix, true public service programming will remain a fleeting mirage. That is not to say that independent productions should not be accepted for broadcast. Evidence from the UK suggests that television can help to boost independent production efforts by making its airtime available to independents (Harvey, 2000). The Primetime Access Rule (PTAR) of the US also limits dominance of the production market by the big networks and encourages independent program productions. (See <http://www.museum.tv/eotvsection.php?entrycode=primetimeac>). However, making primetime accessible to independent productions should not undermine GTV's public service objectives.

Late Night

The Late News is at 10.30pm and after this period, scheduling is not designed to mentally challenge viewers. The assumption is that many people are tired and are already asleep or watching from their beds. Some of them will drift off to sleep with the TV still on. Programs broadcast at that time should not require their active participation. The second reason is GTV's lack of confidence that programs broadcast at this time attract significant numbers in terms of viewers. "Many people will be sleeping already. Those who are awake will only be dosing in front of the TV. They are not really watching. The TV is just on. This is not the time to spend money to produce big programs that nobody will be watching" (Interview, GTV).

Consequently, none of the programs broadcast at this time is produced in-house. They are *Healing Jesus Crusade*, *Musicals*, *DW-TV*, *Way of Life*, *Friday Flash*, *Counseling Session*, *Late Movie* and *Power in His Presence*. Music videos form a large part of the program mix.

Audience Targeting

The concept of dayparting depends in some respect on audience targeting. Audience demographics and profile are particularly important to commercial television because they need to deliver viewers with specific characteristics to advertisers in order to receive advertisers' money. Public service television needs to target specific audiences to satisfy diversity objectives.

You need to know your audience, who they are, where they are, what they eat, everything; their age, their level of education, the work they do. You see, when you are broadcasting to many different kinds of people, these things are important. What is their tribe, their language?

(Interview, Head of Programs)

Surveys like the Ghana All Media and Products Survey (GAMPS) have become increasingly important in this regard, evidenced in the very public confrontation between the Metro TV on the one hand and GTV and TV3 on the other hand over claims by the former that it is the most watched TV station. The problem with the GAMPS is that it is not a true representation of audience feelings or behavior. It is conducted at irregular intervals. Research International (RI) takes three weeks to gather data for the GAMPS and two to three months to put together a report. By this time, audience tastes and preferences may have shifted, whole seasons of programs that premiered around the same time the survey started will have ended. What is needed is a more frequent and consistent survey, preferably weekly or daily tracking. Then reference can be made to the diaries to analyze audience behavior and make subsequent predictions with some accuracy. In the absence of that, even RI admits that broadcasters “are shooting in the dark” (Interview, RI).

GTV also uses research carried out by the Audience Research Unit (ARU) of GBC. The (confidential) report, which is shared by both radio and television, is produced yearly. A severely under resourced ARU means that surveys are carried out on a limited scale (coverage) and do not measure audience responses to all programs. A yearly survey is not sufficient to gauge audience behavior and lifestyle, but that is all schedule planners have got to plan daily broadcasts. Commenting on the planner’s knowledge of the audience, the Head of Programs explained that

Ghanaians are religious. In the morning they have their morning devotion. Putting religious programs early morning is just to synchronize your programs with their daily routines. Then there is *the Breakfast Show*, which has a bit of something for everybody. In the day, it is mostly housewives and the unemployed, so occupy them with something so they don’t get bored. Occasionally, give the business people news updates. In the evening, everybody is at home. People are tired so you give them something to relax and enjoy.

(Interview, Head of Programs)

In spite of claims of sensitivity to audience demographics and characteristics, in some instances, the decision to place certain programs at certain times raises important questions. For instance, who is GTV targeting when it broadcasts educational programs during school hours? What is the objective of showing cartoons from 11am till noon on Tuesdays and Thursdays? This hour does not attract programs from independent producers who consider it unattractive as a result of low viewing numbers. Meanwhile, GTV is criticized for lacking children's programs. From discussions with the programs section, broadcasting cartoons in the midmorning slot appears to be a way of boosting its children's program quantity.

PSI-DL, an educational program is broadcast from 9am to 11am on Monday and Wednesdays. The odd broadcast time, GTV explains, is at the request of the government agency responsible for the program. These programs on Mathematics, English and Science are aimed at complementing Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary school curricula. Therefore, schools are supposed to provide television receiver equipment for students to follow them. There is a knowledge gap as to how effective this has been.

Examining primetime programming raises further questions about audience targeting. All categories of viewers are present at this time. The week-long schedule shows a disposition towards targeting not the largest mixed audience, but narrow audiences. Programs like *Mmaa Nkomo*, a women's discussion program, *Investment Digest* a program to examine investment options and *Possibility Forum*, a motivational talk show have women, the educated adult male and young adults as their respective primary targets. Vane and Gross (1994) call this "counter programming", a scheduling strategy by public service television to appear different from commercial television stations. While this may be criticized for neglecting mainstream audiences, in the case of *Mmaa Nkomo* GTV stands to be commended for making a primetime slot available to a program that targets women instead of limiting primetime access to programs that attract the largest audience. This argument does not go for *Investment Digest* though. Whereas women, in many respects, can be classified as disadvantaged in the male dominated Ghanaian society, the same cannot be said for the educated male. The educated male belongs to a social class that can afford, and has access to other sources of information including satellite TV, cable and Internet. One therefore questions the propriety of allocating such an important time slot for the benefit of an elitist few. Other primetime titles with narrow audience targets include *Rythmz*, music videos, *Stand Point*, a socio-political discussion program, *NLA Draw*, the national lottery draw, *Faith Talk*, a religious talk show, *Aqua Vitens* and *Sidalco*, which are both promotional

documentaries. All these programs have one thing in common; they originate from independent sources.

Different Programs for Different Audiences

Ghana is multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-linguistic with a social stratum that shows varying levels of educational and economic development (See GLSS 4 and 5). The varying needs and often competing interests of the different groups makes programming both liberating and restrictive. The socio-cultural diversity offers a rich source of programming while at the same time imposing restrictions due to the need to achieve balance. The task is to schedule programs to meet all the different tastes. How does GTV do this? What are the range and mix of programs and at what times are they broadcast? These questions underlie the remaining discussion on programs. For the purpose of this discussion, the eight categories established in chapter three are used.

Describing the Program Categories

Drama refers to all fiction programs whether commissioned, produced in-house or acquired from external sources and entertainment refers to all programs with the primary purpose of amusement including drama. Game shows and musicals also fall in this category.

Public & Current Affairs refers to the range of programs that deal with contemporary topics that are of social, economic or political relevance to the Ghanaian society. They are presented in a simple talk show format, magazine or live coverage.

Religion describes programs that deal with religious teachings, beliefs or concepts. Culture refers to programs with a strong presence of traditional Ghanaian culture.

Youth & Gender refers to the range of programs that target women or children as the primary audience. The format of some of these programs may make them suitable for other categories as entertainment or education, but their specific content relating to women or children place them in this special category. GTV's description of youth is more of teenagers and young adults.

Sports may be classified as entertainment, but the specific organized physical activities that characterize sports have become staple fare in global television with broadcast stations dedicating entire channels to sports. This merits a category of its own. They include live coverage of sporting events, replays and analyses. Sports news is excluded from this category though.

GTV's classification of education programs relate to Adult Education which is developmental in scope. This is broadened to include all programs, which by their design have a strong teaching or instructional element. The primary objective of such programs is to pass on knowledge and so may be based on or relate in some way to a specific school curriculum.

According to GTV, non-fiction activities that are captured in their naturalness or re-enacted and packaged outside the main news, and which has a duration of five minutes or more is considered as documentary. This does not include footage or video inserts for talk shows.

News refers to packaged reports that are presented from the news studio. The reports cover local, regional, national, and international events whether gathered by GTV or obtained from secondary sources. It also includes sports, business and the weather.

Sources of Programs

GTV televised both local and foreign programs within the period studied. Local programs included in-house productions, independent productions and collaborations. Independent productions are programs produced by institutions or individuals outside the administrative and creative control of GTV, its parent company, the GBC or affiliates and which do not qualify as either commissioned projects or as collaboration between GTV and the individual or the institution that produced the program. In-house programs refer to programs produced by GTV while collaborations refer to programs jointly produced between GTV and an independent either by direct funding or by way of personnel or/and equipment. Collaborations must be distinguished from direct airtime sales, which in exchange for monetary compensation, GTV allocates time slots to independents or sponsors to broadcast their (the sponsors') programs. In the former, GTV still has creative or editorial input depending on the nature of the agreement. With direct airtime sales, GTV has no creative or editorial control over the production. The independent producer or sponsor controls the program content and the airtime for as long as the agreement subsists.

News stories produced and broadcast by GTV are classified as local productions although some of their content may come from foreign sources. The reason for this is that one newscast, from signature tune to the closing credits, is counted as one program. Any foreign material used is appropriated as part of a local production. Foreign programs refer to programs produced and packaged outside the borders of Ghana.

The sources of programs in the various categories are presented in table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Program Sources

Category	In-house	Independent	Collaboration	Africa	North American	Europe
Drama & Entertainment	385	1005	30	0	770	0
Public & Current Affairs	1040	320	150	0	0	0
Religion & Culture	195	590	0	30	0	0
Youth & Gender	150	340	0	0	140	0
Sports	90	90	0	0	0	205
Education	185	455	0	0	0	0
News	1065	0	0	0	300	390
Documentary	90	175	0	0	0	205
Total (Minutes)	3200	2975	180	30	1210	800

GTV's programs were predominantly from local sources. Local programs constituted a total of six thousand, three hundred and fifty-five (6355) minutes, representing 75.7% of the programs broadcast, a remarkable reversal of the situation just a decade earlier when Sey (1999) observed that there was a heavy dependence on foreign imports to fill its airtime. At that time, foreign programs took up over 70% of broadcast time (ibid). The u-turn is explained by GTV's policy to allow independent productions on its broadcasts. At a time of dwindling funding, it made economic sense to substitute foreign programs with independent productions, given that this strategy eliminates production and transaction costs and instead generates income. While GTV pays for limited broadcast rights to acquire foreign programs, the policy shift ensures that it gains income by selling airtime to independent producers. Independent producers recoup their investments by securing sponsorship for their productions.

They apply to GTV for airtime. A committee vets their pilot episodes. If they pass all technical and ethical tests, GTV enters into negotiations with the respective producers for a time slot. The success of this was helped by an increase in the number of video professionals and easier access to video technology, which resulted in a boom in independent video productions in the 1990s and subsequently a high demand for airtime. The production unit of GTV was no longer the only producer of local programs on GTV, but one of the many producers, although it remained the largest single program source, supplying about a third of all local, non-news programs.

Sources of Local Programs

Figure 6.2: Local Programs Sources

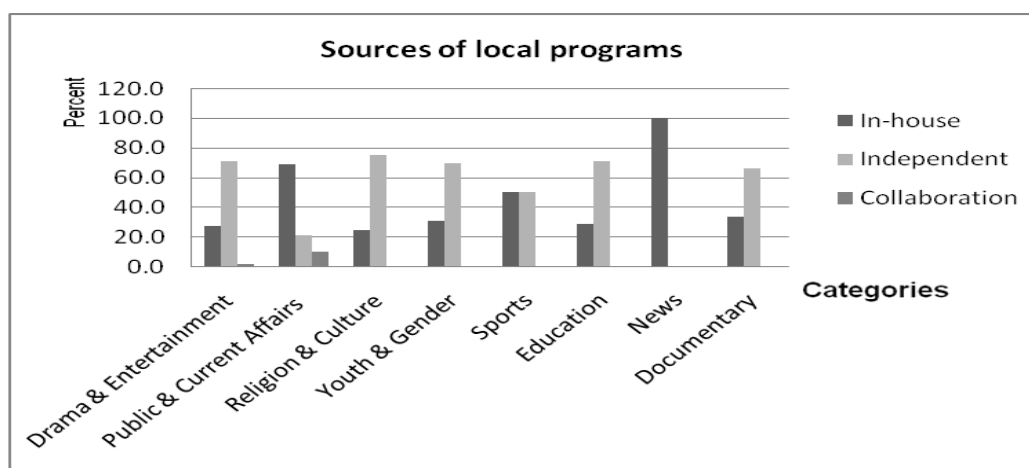


Figure 6.2 shows the broadcast time taken by the three sources of local programs; in-house, independent and collaboration. In-house programs supply dominated in two categories: News and Public & Current Affairs categories. GTV has exclusivity over news productions. It also produces most of the Public & Current Affairs programs (68.9%). In the same category, it shared a further 9.9% through collaboration with independents. There is an even split of Sports programs between GTV and independents. Apart from these areas, GTV supplied less than half the programs in all the other categories. More than 70% of local Drama & Entertainment programs came from independent sources. GTV supplied 21.1% and collaborated with independents to produce 2.1%. In the Religion & Culture category, independents supplied 75.2% of all local programs and continued their dominance into the Education and the Documentary categories taking up 71.1% and 66% respectively. Finally, in the Youth & Gender category, in-house sources contributed 30.6% compared to 69.4% from independents.

With the exception of the local language dramas and *Sports Highlights*, the rest of GTV's programs are in the talk show format. This gives an indication that the cost cutting measures that saw the decision to reduce in-house productions did not really affect the kinds of programs that were relatively cheaper to produce. The relative absence of independents in the Public & Current Affairs category is also partly explained by the fact that independents need to recoup production and airtime costs. This makes them more interested in the kinds of programs that have high sponsor attraction. The strong presence of independents in the Documentary and the Religion & Culture categories are notable exceptions. While the supply of documentary programs was enhanced by the repeated broadcast of *Sidalco* and *Aqua*

Vitens Rand, both image promoting videos, the supply of Religious programs by independents was high because of the rise of televangelism in the 1990s, which in some ways served to promote the respective churches.

On the whole, there was almost an equal split in program supply between GTV and independents. In-house productions had a slight lead over independent productions taking up 50.4% of the total broadcast time, in relation to the 48.8% of programs from independent sources. It must be pointed out, though, that taking up more of the total broadcast time does not imply that GTV supplied more programs.

Collaboration

GTV collaborated with local program suppliers to produce *The Business Advocate*, *Chief's Palace* and *Asem Sebe*, a total of one hundred and eighty minutes (180), representing 2.8% of the 6,355 minutes of local programs broadcast in the week analyzed. Collaboration was one of the strategies adopted to help develop local productions in order to share the program production burden. According to GTV, several in-house programs were eventually transferred completely to independents (Interviews, GTV). Without data from previous years, it is hard to determine the rate of transfer of the program supply responsibility to independents.

However, in as much as demand for airtime by independents continues and GTV has no guaranteed funding for productions, the only foreseeable direction that its program supply will go is downwards while independent program supply appreciates. And given the gravitation of independent producers towards sponsorship-magnet-type-of-programs, it must be said that further decline of programs supplied by GTV will have negative consequences for diversity, the number of voices heard and for that matter public fulfillment and societal welfare.

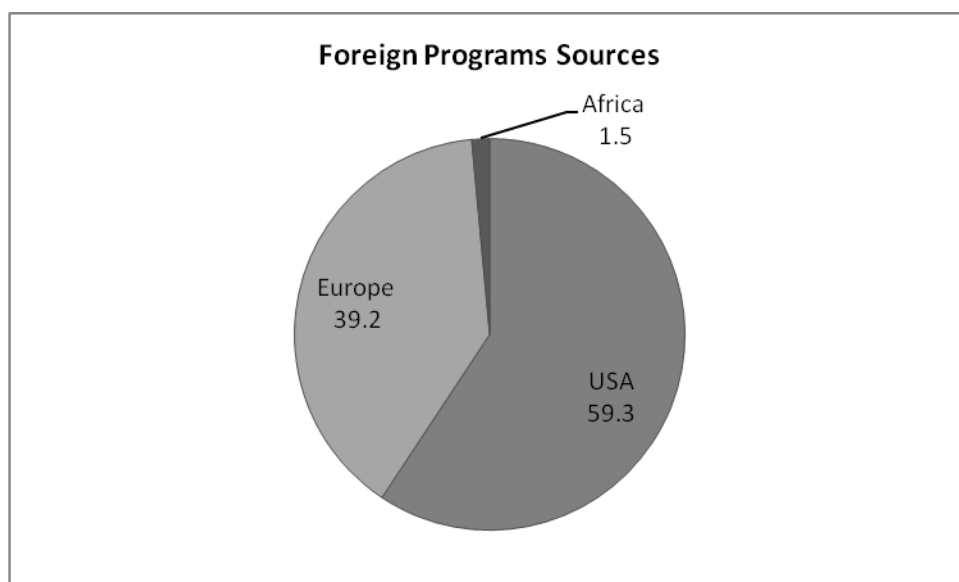
Sources of Foreign Programs

Foreign programs took up two thousand and forty (2040) minutes of total broadcast time, representing 24.3%. Most of the foreign programs came from North America (59.3%) and Europe (39.2%). Significantly, programs from the rest of Africa constituted only 1.5% of all foreign programs, which speaks volumes about the (in)activity of the African Union of Broadcasting (AUB), formerly Union of National Radio and Television Organizations of

Africa (URTNA). The AUB primarily seeks to promote and facilitate program exchange among public broadcasting organizations.

Two ‘irregular’ programs, the live coverage of the inauguration of President Obama and English Premier League affected the total time taken by foreign programs. The effect is not too significant because, even if both programs are replaced with local programs, the overall share of foreign program supply still remains around a quarter of all programs broadcast.

Figure 6.3: Sources of Foreign Programs



The programs from North America were from the United States of America (USA). These were Drama & Entertainment programs (63.6%), Youth programs (11.6%) and news programs (24.8%). The Drama & Entertainment programs were mainly movies and the telenovela, *Ana*. Children’s cartoons formed the youth programs and the news programs were from WorldNet Television. The European programs came from the United Kingdom and Germany. Unlike the entertainment imports from the USA, the highest flow of programs from the European bloc came from the News category (48.8%), followed by Sports (25.6%) and then Documentary (25.6%). The news programs were relays or recorded playbacks of earlier news broadcasts from DW-TV, whilst the sports programs were the English Premier League and the Bundesliga. The only foreign African program was a weekly religious broadcast from the Living Faith Church, headquartered in Nigeria. No programs were televised from other parts of the world.

Program Sources and Scheduling Tendencies

The weeklong schedule shows a clear effort to prioritize local programs at peak periods.

Figure 6.4: Relative Distribution of Local and Foreign Programs

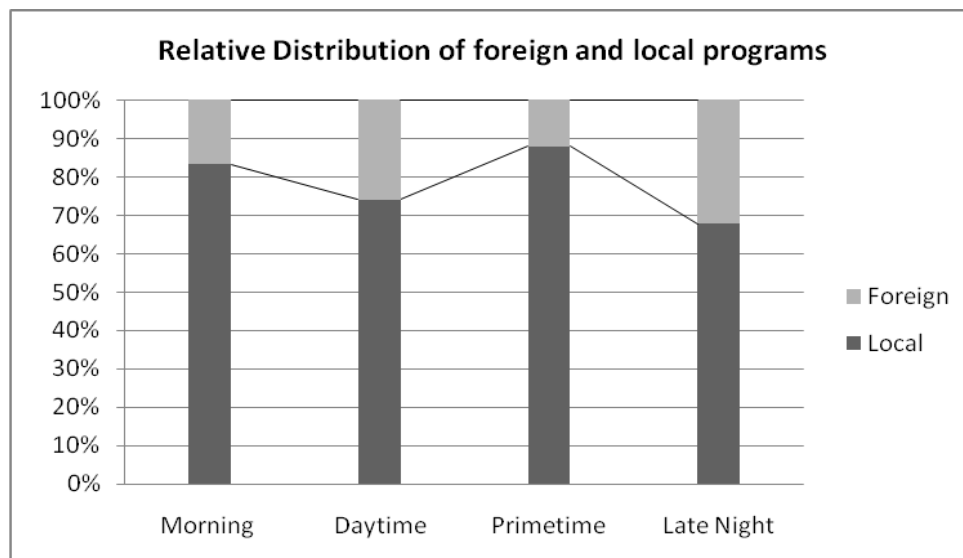
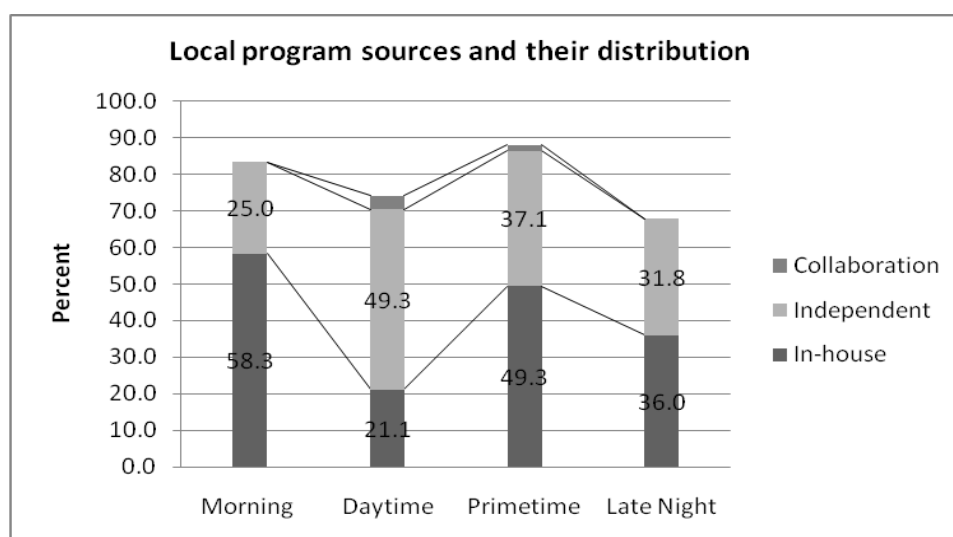


Figure 6.4 shows that foreign programs are distributed across the day, but in reduced quantities during peak periods: 16% of Morning and 12% of Primetime slots. More of the foreign programs were scheduled in the off-peak periods: Daytime (25.9%) and Late Night (32%). This indicates a healthy bias in favor of local programs. During the peak periods, local programs made up 83.3% of Morning and 88% of Primetime. With more foreign programs scheduled during the off-peak period, the share of local programs reduced to 74.1% at Daytime and 67.8% at Late Night.

The show of preference is not reproduced in the different sources that constituted the local programs. The distribution of in-house programs in relation to independent programs shows no evidence of bias. The broadcast time taken by programs from the different local sources is illustrated in figure 6.5 below.

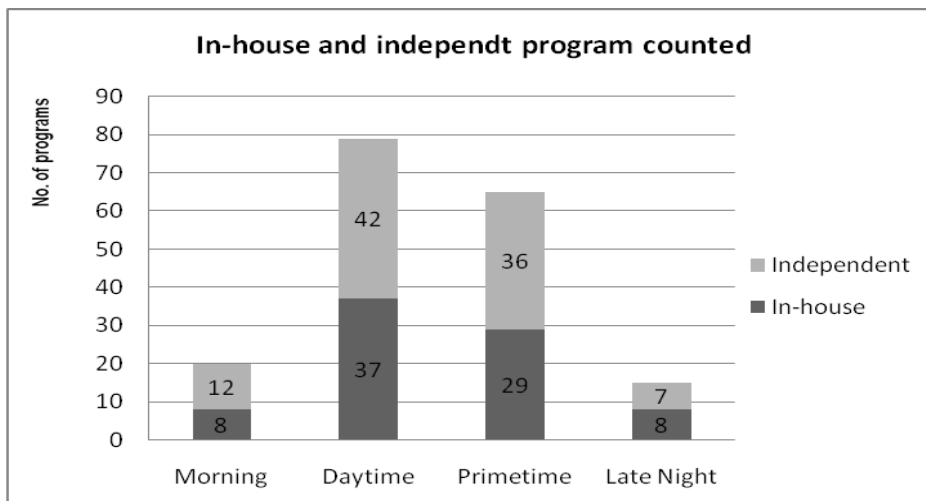
Figure 6.5: Local Program Sources and Their Distribution



In-house productions' share of broadcast time was boosted by their daily and sometimes repeat broadcasts. They also have a relatively longer duration than independent productions. For example, independent productions have an average of thirty (30) minutes duration and are broadcast once a week. In comparison, GTV's *the Breakfast Show* broadcasts daily except on Sundays and it has a duration of one hundred and fifty (150) minutes per broadcast. Also, the daily news presentations have a combined total of about one hundred and sixty-five (165) minutes. The news alone improves GTV's share of program supply considerably.

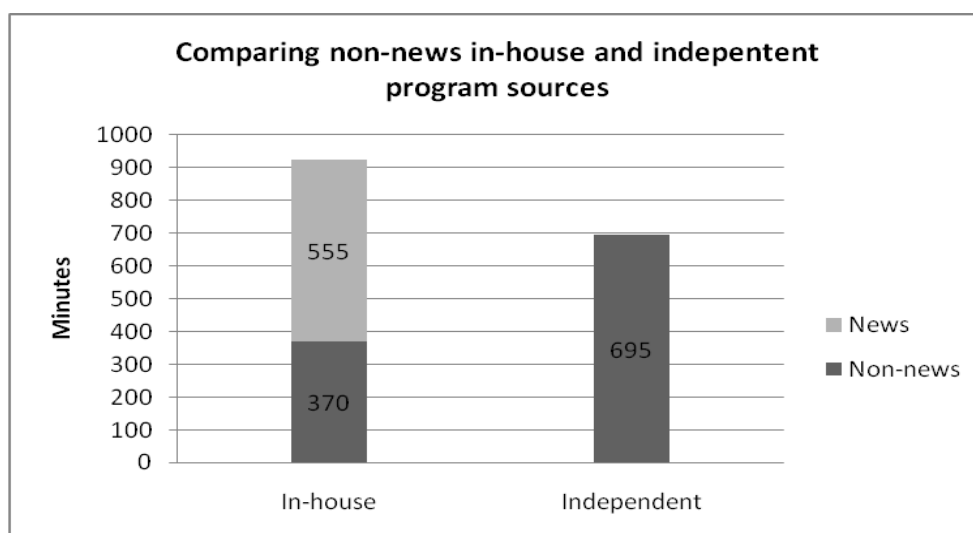
This initially looks good for the potential to fulfill its public service goals. By contributing a greater share of the programs, GTV has direct control over content (creative and editorial) and can produce programs with objectives other than profit. Although in-house programs took up more airtime, a simple count of the actual number of programs supplied, as shown in figure 6.6, GTV contributed fewer programs than independents. The difference in results, depending on whether the total is computed by simply counting the programs or by computing the broadcast time, makes the use of one method without the other insufficient in assessing program supply. Program count can be complementary to broadcast duration when assessing program sources.

Figure 6.6: Number of Programs Supplied: In-house vs. Independents



Eighty-two of the total number of local programs originated in-house while ninety-seven came from independent sources. This difference becomes even sharper when a direct comparison is made between non-news programs that originated in-house and those supplied by independents during primetime. When news is excluded, in-house program supply reduces drastically from eighty-two (82) to thirty (30) by a simple count and from nine hundred and twenty-five (925) minutes to three hundred and seventy (370) minutes, falling behind independent productions by three hundred and twenty-five (325) minutes, as shown in figure 6.7.

Figure 6.7: Comparing Primetime non-news, In-house and Independent Programs Supplied



News constituted a good 60% of in-house productions that were televised during primetime. This shows that GTV has largely conceded primetime to independent program suppliers.

Given that independent producers pay GTV for these slots (and not the normal international practice where broadcasters pay independents to acquire programs for broadcast) the only logical conclusion to draw is that the pressure to generate funds has forced scheduling to be commercially determined. Of course, other factors like the technical quality of the program and broadcast ethics may come into play, but all these considered, ability to pay carries the day and not some lofty public service ideals.

Language Use

GTV has a practical problem of selecting a few out of over one hundred languages and dialects for broadcasting. At the moment, nearly all in-house productions, in addition to all continuity, public and social announcements are in English. An effort is made to broadcast news in six (6) local languages; Akan, Dagbani, Ga, Ewe, Nzema and Hausa, that is, fifteen (15) minutes of news broadcast in one local language before the major news from Monday to Friday. On Friday, an additional five (5) minutes of news is broadcast in the sixth local language. There were also thirty-minute *Adult Education* programs, which are discussion programs in different local languages, broadcast from Monday to Friday. Apart from these, the only in-house programs in Ghanaian languages were *Obra*, a local drama, *Cantata*, which is self-evident and *Local Drama* (previously *Showcase*). Another program was *Asem Sebe*, a magazine program which is collaboration. With the exception of *Efie Wura*, another local drama, all the independent productions were in English. In table 6.2 below, the amount of time the different languages were used on air are given in minutes.

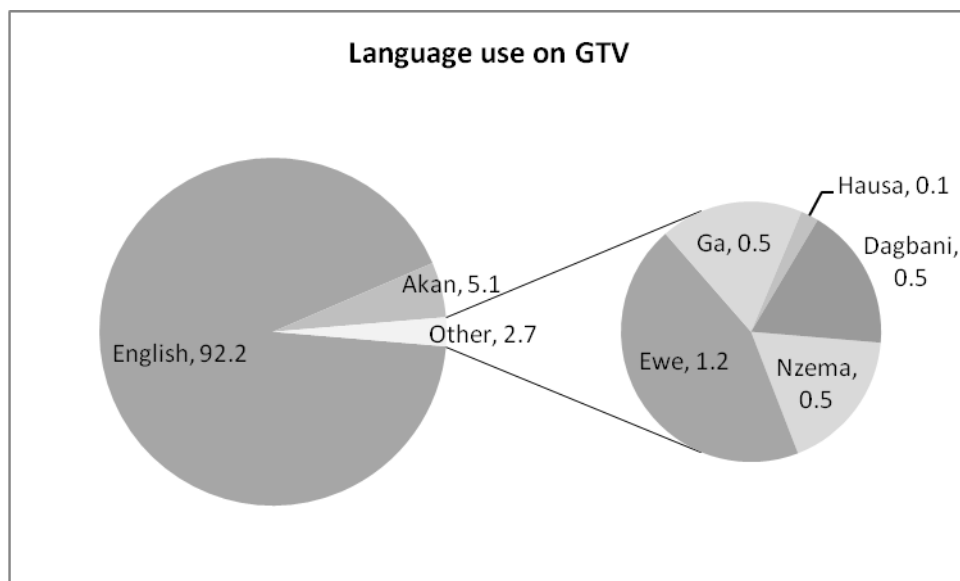
Table 6.2: Week-long Language Use on GTV

Language	English	Akan	Nzema	Ewe	Ga	Hausa	Dagbani
Total (Minutes) = 8395	7740	430	40	100	40	5	40

All the local languages combined, form less than 10% of the spoken language. The extent of the neglect stands out when the most used language is contrasted with the least used language. At the two extremes, English language accounted for seven thousand, seven hundred and forty minutes, representing 92.2% of total broadcast time, while in the entire week, Hausa was used for only five (5) minutes constituting 0.1% of broadcast time. The only local language that saw relative significant use was Akan, that is, four hundred and thirty minutes, representing 5.1%. This is followed by Ewe, which had one hundred minutes, representing 1.2%. Programs in Nzema, Ga and Hausa each had forty minutes of airtime,

less than one percent of total broadcast time. Figure 6.8 below shows the relative use of languages on GTV.

Figure 6.8: Language Use on GTV



Language use on GTV covers both graphics and audio. The data presented here covers only audio. All GTV graphics are in English. Local language use does not enjoy the positive bias found in program sources. On the contrary, English is preferred as the broadcast language, since local language use is considered to have divisive tendencies (Head of Programs, GTV). At the national level, there is a lack of agreement on what local language to adopt as a national language and this dilemma is present at GTV. Multilingualism poses a special challenge to programming. It is practically impossible to broadcast in all the many different languages and dialects. From a broadcast point of view, a program that uses an indigenous Ghanaian language is geographically restricted and has a limited audience. The assumption is that programs made in a local language may not be understood by other ethnic groups. A possible solution will be to broadcast in a widely spoken indigenous language, but how do you do this without the real risk of being accused of fostering hegemony (Interviews, GTV). Paradoxically, programs in English are considered to be national in character. “We are Ghanaians and people should be able to tune-in to GTV and see their own people speaking in their own language. But our own language divides us. English is what unites us” (Interview, GTV). There is a knowledge gap as to whether these concerns are founded on scientific evidence. It is telling, though, that there is a general consensus at GTV that its most popular program of all time was *Osofo Dadzie*, a local drama in a local language. There may be practical challenges associated with broadcasting in local languages, but it does not appear

that much effort has been put into overcoming these challenges. Local language programs could be subtitled in English. Although some may argue that current literacy levels cannot support English subtitling, such arguments should also be directed at the practice of broadcasting in English. Broadcasting mainly in English is contrary to its own mission to promote the cultural aspirations of Ghana and contrary to the Cultural Policy of Ghana (2004) and the NMC's Broadcasting Standard. Without tying its operations to specific enforceable goals, it will be hard to remedy the situation. This is what policy should respond to.

Program Diversity

It has been mentioned already that GTV pursues a mixed programming philosophy, but how diverse is the program distribution? What types of programs are favored, and what is excluded? The important role of public service television in contributing to the informational, educational and entertainment needs of society means that it must serve a variety of audiences. Although the public has potentially more viewing options because of the existence of several TV stations, the underlying assumption is that GTV is the only station since the focus here is on intra channel. For consistency, the eight categories identified so far will be maintained even though a longer list of program formats would have revealed more details. With such details also comes the risk of undermining the validity of the results because of the limits of a qualitatively determined classification system (Neuendorf, 2002).

The measuring process described in chapter 3 produced the results presented in table 6.3.

Table 6.3: GTV Program Mix

Category	In Minutes				Totals
	Morning	Daytime	Primetime	Late Night	
Drama & Entertainment	0	1190	555	445	2190
Public & Current Affairs	750	495	265	0	1510
Religion & Culture	480	85	55	195	815
Youth & Gender	0	525	105	0	630
Sports	0	265	120	0	385
Education	0	515	125	0	640
News	210	625	500	420	1755
Documentary	0	320	150	0	470
Category	Morning	Daytime	Primetime	Late Night	Totals
Total	1440	4020	1875	1060	8395
Percentile values					
Drama & Entertainment	0.0	29.6	29.6	42.0	26.1
Public & Current Affairs	52.1	12.3	14.1	0.0	18.0
Religion & Culture	33.3	2.1	2.9	18.4	9.7
Youth & Gender	0.0	13.1	5.6	0.0	7.5
Sports	0.0	6.6	6.4	0.0	4.6
Education	0.0	12.8	6.7	0.0	7.6
News	14.6	15.5	26.7	39.6	20.9
Documentary	0.0	8.0	8.0	0.0	5.6
Herfindahl Hirscham Index					
Overall HHI = 0.170	0.404	0.172	0.198	0.367	

Figure 6.9: Standardized Interpretation of the Herfindahl-Hirschman Index

Index	Interpretation
0.01 – 0.1	Unconcentrated/Diverse
0.1 – 0.18	Moderate Concentration
> 0.18	Concentrated

Table 6.3 shows the share of airtime of the eight program categories. Looking at the overall program spread, Entertainment (26.1%), News (20.9%), Public & Current Affairs (18%) and Religion & Culture (9.7%) make up the top four categories. Together, these four categories cover approximately two thirds of total broadcast time (74.7%) compared to the bottom four, which are Education (7.6%), Youth & Gender (7.5%), Documentary (5.6%) and Sports (4.6%). The HHI for the week under examination is 0.17. According to the standardized interpretation, programming is moderately diverse, but on the brink of concentration.

When the dayparts are factored into the analyses, interesting disparities and tendencies emerge in the program distribution. Morning programming represents the highest level of concentration with a HHI of 0.404, followed by Late Night with 0.367. Daytime is also on the brink of concentration with a HHI of 0.172 and Primetime recorded a concentration level of 0.198.

In the morning, only three out of the eight program categories are represented. Of this, Public & Current Affairs make up more than half (52.1%), Religion & Culture take about a third (33.3%) and News gets a little more than one-eighth (14.6%) of Morning programming. The remaining five categories do not make any showing at all.

During Daytime, all the categories are represented. The top four are Drama & Entertainment (29.6%), News (15.5%), Youth & Gender (13.1%) and Education (12.8%). Public & Current Affairs, Documentary, Sports and Religion & Culture are in the bottom four with 12.3%, 8%, 6.6% and 2.1% respectively. Daytime is the only period where programs are fairly evenly distributed although it does not necessarily mean that it meets consumed diversity.

At Primetime, three categories have substantial portions of the airtime while the remaining five have less than 10% each of the remaining time. Drama & Entertainment maintain a high percentage of 29.6% followed closely by News (26.7%). Public & Current Affairs comes in third with 14.1%. The remaining five categories share one-third (29.6%) of Primetime (See table 6.3).

Many of the categories drop out of late night programming. Only Drama & Entertainment (42%), News (39.6%) and Religion & Culture (18.4%) are represented.

Some program types are over represented at certain times of the day and at other times they do not make any showings at all. This is what has created the statistical imbalance or high concentrations during the different day parts. When the overall schedule is

considered, the level of diversity improves. Scheduling practices in some respect stayed true to stated strategies. For example, no program on Drama & Entertainment was broadcast in the morning, but absence in the morning is offset by a strong presence in the late night slot and the other day parts. The situation is reversed with Public & Current Affairs programs, confirming the combined strategies of dayparting and audience targeting. The dominance of either category at different times is consistent with claims to provide information to the public to prepare them for the day in the morning and to give them light entertainment at night. The schedule shows that high brow, informational programs feature in the mornings while late night programs are mostly musicals. News is staple fare and makes good representation in all the day parts. The same can be said of Religion & Culture, however small. Tasking educational programs that require the full attention and active engagement of viewers do not feature in the Morning or Late Night. They are concentrated in Daytime programming although their percentage share, which stands at 7.6%, need to be improved. The smallest contribution to programming comes from the Youth & Gender category (4.6%), reflecting a neglect of two important sections of society.

The schedule confirms the presence of variety and disparity, but lacks balance. There is a critical shortage of documentaries, children's programs and educational content. Unlike in the Netherlands where public service television is expected to include a certain percentage of cultural and educational programs in the overall schedule (van der Wurff, 2004), no such quotas exist in Ghana for program diversity. It appears that the issue of diversity has not gained mainstream discussion beyond equity in access by political parties. The law establishing GBC is completely silent on diversity and the National Media Commission's Broadcasting Standards seems to take it for granted. The word 'diversity' is used only once to encourage broadcasters to have different views in their news production. Broadcasters are urged to produce children and educational programs, but no specific requirements are imposed on public service television and certainly, there are no enforcement mechanisms. This leaves GTV the free range to program as it deems fit and the scale has often tilted in favor of entertainment programs.

The high percentage of Drama & Entertainment programs on its schedules is what led Sey (1999) to describe GTV as an entertainment channel. In 1999, as much as 58% of programming was entertainment. This may not necessarily be bad. The argument can be made that entertainment programs may also be informative, educative and contain strong, preferably local cultural elements. However, referring to entertainment programs, in this context, as programs with amusement as their primary objective, distinguishes them from

other program types that have education or information as their primary objectives. As the point has been made throughout this thesis, the key is to find a balance in order to address the different tastes and interests of society. Therefore, the domination of the schedules by one type of program can be problematic, especially when all the other types of programs have to share the space and time on a single public service channel. Although there is a remarkable drop in the share of entertainment programs by 31.9 percentage points in one decade, the current figure of 26.1% is still high considering the respective shares of educational, documentary women and children's programs. Since 1999, drama imports like *Sunset Beach*, *Beast Master*, *Different Strokes*, *Days of our Lives*, *Generations*, *Passions*, *Derrick*, *Touched by an Angel*, *Damon*, *the Cosby Show*, *King of Queens* and *Everybody Loves Raymond*, have been replaced with local programs that did not always belong to the entertainment category. Religious programs were a big beneficiary, moving up from 4.6% a week in July 2001 (Nuviadenu, 2005) to almost 10% in January 2009. GTV's total transmission time remained the same.

With half of its funding coming from IGF and with a good portion of the IGF coming from airtime sales, it is of little wonder that GTV does not have the desire to produce less profitable programs regardless of their potential social and cultural benefits.

The focus of the discussions in this chapter, so far, has excluded news programs. Attention will now be turned to GTV news programs.

Ghana Television News

GTV news programs include five (5) minutes of *News Highlights* at 10am, 11am, 4pm, 5pm and 6pm. These bulletins are the closest GTV comes to breaking news stories and live reports. There are also thirty (30) minute daily presentations at 2pm and 10.30pm. The late news at 10.30pm is just an abridged version of the main news broadcast at 7 o'clock. All these news broadcasts are in English. There are also news programs in Ghanaian languages. For logistical reasons, a different news crew does not gather different stories for broadcast in the local languages. News material gathered for the English news is also packaged for the news in the local languages. Interviews and speeches remain in English without voice overlays, diminishing their essence. Also, only a few stories are covered and there are no analyses. Finally, in contrast to the news in English, these are not archived in the audio-visual library. Perhaps there is no need to do that. The news programs in the local languages are only translations of parts of the previous day's news in English. All these factors make a

clear statement about the importance GTV attaches to the use of local language for broadcasting.

The focus of the following discussion is on the 7 o'clock or *Primetime News*. Qualitative and quantitative content analysis was carried out on the news material gathered between the period of 19 January and 24 January 2009. To limit the analyses to comparable data, the 7 o'clock news on Sunday is excluded since it is half the duration (30 minutes) of the other days' programs. The aim is to provide a general description of television news as an important component of public service broadcasting owing to its informational value.

This value lays in the intangible benefits derived from the messages and meanings found in the packaged stories (Mervin, 1998). Television news is especially powerful in helping people to shape how they see themselves through visual and aural stimulation. It is critical to democracy in the sense that it contributes to nurture and inform the citizenry about their options while facilitating debate on how they should govern themselves (Keane, 1991; Mervin, 1998). These benefits can be compromised by intermediary factors that are inherent to the construction of the news narrative.

Meanwhile, the news narrative is constructed to present the impression of 'the' reality and not 'a' reality. However, as with all narratives, the process of encoding is embedded with the inclusion and exclusion of events; emphasis and de-emphasis within the stories and between the stories (Ellefson & Kingsepp, 2004). What stories to cover and how they are framed and presented are subject to the choices and decisions that journalists and editors make, news policies and sometimes influences beyond the news room. The process of mediation (production and packaging) means that invariably, certain individuals, groups or viewpoints are included or excluded from the news. It also means that certain news stories are prioritized over others. If it is to be assumed that public service broadcasting offers the space for public discourse and the services to inform the democratic citizen, then one ought to be concerned, not only about what news stories are included in the news, but equally importantly, what is excluded. That is, who and what make it into the news and who and what do not? Where do the stories come from and how are they presented?

The weeklong news analysis paints a picture of high local news production that is dominated by elite actors with government as a major newsmaker.

Counting the News Items

Each story is counted as one news item irrespective of story length. When one report leads to another, a determination is made whether the new story relates to the core issue of the previous story or it explores the subject from a different angle. The former is counted as the same story whilst the latter is treated as a different news item.

Describing the News Categories

The various categories are explained below:

Main Actor

Listed according to their order of appearance, main actors refer to the people with speaking parts in a given story. Driven by a need to know who gets to say what and who makes it into the space of the national news, local actors are further defined by their characteristics like gender, designation (politician, government official or professional) The same is not done for foreign actors.

A distinction is also made between ‘known’ and ‘unknown’ actors (Orgeret, 2006: 197). By being a familiar face in the news or familiar to the audience, some individuals are classified as known. Others in this category may not necessarily be household names, but occupy important positions in society and so fall in the same category. ‘Everyday’ members of society are unknown actors.

Story Types

The main topic of each news item defines its type. As with the challenge of qualitative categorizations, some of the stories could also belong to other categories. For example, on 24 January, there was a news report about severe weather conditions. However, the framing of the story (the effect on the public) made it more of a social issue than climatic. Some of the types identified are political, health, economic, crime, social and development.

Sources

This describes the origin of the story. The interest here is whether the news item was produced locally or obtained from outside the borders of Ghana. The organization that produced the foreign story is indicated where it is known, otherwise the country of origin is

simply stated. Where the country of origin is not apparent from the story, it is simply stated as 'foreign'.

Presentation Techniques

The seven o'clock news is presented using one or a combination of several techniques. Guided by Orgeret (2006) and Helland (1993), the techniques identified are anchor-in-studio, anchor-in-voice over, voice over (VO), interviews, speeches and piece to camera (PtC.)

In anchor-in-studio, the news anchor presents the news item in a direct camera address. This technique is also described by Helland (1993) as a form of piece to camera, but the use of PtC here follows Orgeret (2006) and describes direct camera address by reporters on the field, as distinguished from direct camera address by anchors in the studio. Anchor-in-Studio is hardly used and in most cases, was used for very brief stories.

In a variation of anchor-in-studio, the anchor may introduce a news item and the presentation cuts to a pre-edited video footage. The voice of the anchor therefore serves as commentary over the visuals in an anchor-in-VO.

The bulk of the news were reports from journalists. In these reports, visuals are edited and the voice of the reporter provides a non-diegetic accompaniment to the pictures. The reporter's voice is usually recorded in a studio and laid over the pictures in a voice over (pictures).

Interviews and speeches are diegetic sound recorded on location. At events, filmed speeches (main actors addressing an audience) are edited (both sound and pictures) and relevant portions are included in the report. Direct questions may be posed by a reporter to an actor and portions of the actor's responses may be included in the report as interviews. A combination of these two techniques with the VO was very popular.

In piece to camera, a reporter may read part(s) of the script directly to camera. It may be in the middle of a report or/and at the end of the report. This technique was used only once by one reporter.

The 7 o'clock News Structure

The 7 o'clock news has seven (7) segments linked together by an anchor. The segments are headlines, the main news, business, foreign, sports and entertainment news and the weather report. The anchor introduces the segments, leads viewers into breaks and welcomes them to the continuation of the news.

Segmentation serves three functions: standardization, aesthetic and commercialization. In part, it was GTV's response to competition from local and international channels following the liberalization of broadcast television. GTV felt the need to repackage its newscast to improve the quality of delivery. It adopted segmentation as a way of meeting 'international' news presentation standards. Having several segments "increases the pace of the news and takes the boredom out" of the presentation. "News doesn't have to be a boring account of events, it also needs to be pleasing, and your viewers must enjoy it. We know we have built a relationship of trust with our loyal viewers but[...] first of all, you have to attract them and keep them" (News Editor, GTV).

Formatting the news into titled segments was seen as a mark of quality. It is complete with different sets and presenters for the business, entertainment and sports segments, which together with dolly camera movements for the opening and closing shots, give a dynamic visual presentation. As much as possible, talking heads are avoided and voice over pictures was widely used. The anchor only introduces the story and a reporter takes over in a VO. When the anchor takes the entire story, it is usually accompanied with visuals.

Like *the Breakfast Show*, segmentation also provided an opportunity to sell the different parts of the news program to different advertisers. The entire *Primetime News* is sponsored by a telecommunications company, Zain Telecom. Besides Zain Telecom, minor sponsors provide additional sponsorship for specific segments. Unique Trust Financial Services, Mobile Telecommunications Network (MTN) and Cal Bank sponsor the business segment, Citi Lights sponsors the foreign news, Guinness, TiGO and Stanbic Bank sponsor sports, Zain Telecom provides additional sponsorship for the entertainment news segment and an agro-chemical company, Wenco, sponsors the weather report. Advertisements of these sponsors and others are slotted between and within the segments.

The reporter and the anchor together maintain continuity by calling the dateline of the story. Dateline is borrowed from print and it indicates the location and date of the story. Viewers are able to make a psychological connection between the passed report and the coming report as parts of the same program. The sheer presence of the anchor gives the news

a sense of cohesion. The anchor also uses other techniques like pauses, movement and aural links including comments on the past segment and brief introduction of the next segment, thereby creating the impression of one seamless unit called the 7 o'clock news.

Types of News Stories

A wide range of issues are covered in the 7 o'clock news. These are presented in Table 6.4. The table represents a simple count of the different stories and does not indicate how much time each story took. Story length ranged from as short as about 20 seconds of foreign news bulletins (Tuesday, 20 January Item no.12) to about a three and a half minutes of local news reports.

Table 6.4: Story Types

Story type	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Political	43.8	31.3	10	17.4	18.8	0.0
Economic	12.5	6.3	15	4.3	6.3	0.0
Religious	6.3	0.0	0	4.3	0.0	0.0
Development	0.0	6.3	0	8.7	0.0	7.1
Business	6.3	12.5	5	8.7	12.5	0.0
Crime	0.0	0.0	5	8.7	0.0	7.1
Conflict	0.0	0.0	5	0.0	6.3	7.1
Social	12.5	18.8	20	8.7	18.8	42.9
Health	0.0	0.0	5	8.7	6.3	14.3
Entertainment	6.3	6.3	15	8.7	0.0	0.0
Sports	12.5	18.8	20	13.0	25.0	14.3
Science & Technology	0.0	0.0	0	8.7	6.3	7.1
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 6.4 shows the different types of stories that were broadcast in the news and the amount of coverage (in terms of numbers) that was given to the stories. Political stories take up a good portion of the news broadcast during the week. Considering the nature of political activities and the way the news team gathers news (discussed below under 'local news sources'), it is not surprising that these kinds of stories are heavy at the beginning of the week (43.8%), decline towards the end of the week (18.8%) and are virtually absent at the weekend.

Political stories revolved around the presidency and sometimes parliament. The lead stories were almost always political. The only time politics was displaced, it was by a pseudo-political story about the President hosting some guests at the seat of government. Usually, the social stories or soft stories make it to the middle and towards the end of the presentation. Overall, however, social stories form a good part of the seven o'clock news up to 42.9% on 24 January. The social stories covered the funeral of a GBC staff, the private celebrations of Obama's election, dreadlocks as a hairstyle of choice, benefits of laughter and how the public is coping with the discomfort brought about by severe harmattan. In the week analyzed, the quantity of social stories had an inverse relationship with political stories. When there were more political stories, social stories decreased in quantity, and whenever the news time was filled with more social stories, political stories declined. This can be attributed to the news gathering process and the role of politics in setting the news agenda.

The main economic news was on the global recession. Other stories were on the producer price of cocoa, the salary structure of government workers and other labor issues. Business news included daily reports from the Ghana Stock Exchange (GSE) and coverage of events in the business sector. There was a steady supply of business news because a whole segment is devoted to business and finance.

Crime got very minimal coverage in spite of daily reports of crime, especially armed robbery in other news media. The only days crime was included in the news were Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday and even on these days some of the crime stories were of foreign origin.

Entertainment news stories were a mixed bag of local and foreign stories. There was a general lack of local entertainment news stories. Sometimes, parts of the same story are repackaged and presented over several days.

Sports news stories were generally football stories. The football stories were about the national team, the local league, pitch grassing and the quality of football in Ghana. There were a few stories on other sports like tennis and athletics.

News Sources

The news stories are basically divided into local and foreign news. The main concern was to find out where the stories originated from and whether GTV gathered them or relied on external agencies. The findings show that GTV gathers and produces all local news stories and the stories come from a few cities and towns. Before 1985, it obtained some of its stories

from the Ghana News Agency (GNA). But this came to a halt when GTV upgraded its equipment rendering the existing link between GTV and the GNA obsolete. Besides, GTV has production equipment and journalists in all ten regional capitals to gather and file stories. And whenever necessary, it relies on its counterparts in radio. There is a standing arrangement with the courier services of the State Transport Corporation (STC) to facilitate speedy delivery of regional news footage, which is still recorded on video tapes. Even then, news stories from outside Accra hardly make it unto the day's line up. They are often one to several days old by the time of broadcast.

Generally, foreign news stories were sourced from external institutions like C-SPAN or DW-TV. With the exception of the original superimposition of the logo that identifies the source institution, GTV does not attribute the stories to these sources. The newsroom actually dubs the material using a local voice or the voice track is muted for the anchor to read a transcript of the story. It seems that this technique is a comfortable substitute for the expensive practice of establishing and maintaining international correspondents. The foreign news material is dubbed to give it a Ghanaian touch so that "Ghanaians can identify" more with it (Interview, News Editor). Depending on where an event is taking place, GTV, through the Ministry of Information, may also enter into an agreement with a local station to use its material. On official presidential travels, journalists may accompany the President to file stories from abroad.

The news stories came from seventeen countries. The countries and the number of stories that emerged from them are given below.

Table 6.5: Foreign News Sources

Sources of foreign news																		
USA	UK	Italy	Belgium	Kenya	Congo	Zimbabwe	Guinea	Nigeria	Rwanda	Brazil	Uganda	Senegal	Israel	Gaza	Mexico	Japan	Unknown	Total
1	3	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	39

About a third of the stories came from the United States. With the euphoria surrounding the historic election of the first African American President of the United States, it is understandable that nearly all the stories were on Barack Obama. These stories were of considerable length (more than three minutes) and on Tuesday, 20 January, an Obama story

succeeded in pushing off a local story as the lead story. In contrast, the remaining foreign news items were mainly negative stories about gang violence in Mexico, floods and crime in Brazil, conflict in Israel, Gaza, Congo and Uganda, meeting on the global recession in Belgium, illegal immigration in Italy, power struggle in Zimbabwe and crime in Guinea, reinforcing the negative representation of the ‘other’ in the news media (Ellefson & Kingsepp, 2004; Orgeret, 2006). Although these reports are not primarily constructed by the GTV newsroom, the decision to select the events that caused disequilibrium in the respective countries of origin is telling. It is as if to say, Orgeret observes, that ‘we’ are not so bad after all, every country has its own problems. The relatively few positive news stories were from Rwanda (a football tournament in which Ghana was participating) and advances in science in the USA and Europe. Then there were the celebration of Obama’s election in Kenya and the use of Obama’s speeches for listening practice in Japan. The foreign news had its share of man-bite-dog stories. There was a story about the arrest and detention of a goat for its alleged involvement in a carjacking incident in Nigeria.

There seems to be a reluctant inclusion of foreign news in the presentation. They were usually bulletins offering snippets of information from beyond the borders of Ghana. Sometimes, the stories were so short that their presentation was difficult to back with visuals. The anchor simply read them out in a direct camera address. Typical examples are given below:

**Date: 20.01.09 Story type: Economic No.: 12 Dateline: Belgium Duration: 19”
Technique: Anchor-in-studio**

The European Union finance ministers of countries that have the Euro met in Brussels today to discuss how to deal with the recession and the gloomy economic forecast. Experts expect the European Union Economy to contract by 1.8% this year with high unemployment and public debt.

Date: 22.01.09 Story type: Social No.: 13 Dateline: USA Duration: 15” Technique: Anchor-in-studio

Luke Song, a previously, virtually unknown Detroit designer is smiling all the way to the bank thanks to Aretha Franklin who wore one of Luke Song’s hats at the inauguration of President Obama. The designer is now getting orders from all parts of the world.

Local News Sources

Each morning, an editorial meeting is held where the day's news priorities are outlined. Reporters are then dispatched to cover specific activities within Accra and its environs. The regions are allowed to produce stories of their choice unless Accra has knowledge of a story it needs. Instructions will then go out to the region concerned to get the story. When the story is filed, Accra will edit the story and record a VO with a reporter in Accra. The regional reporter is credited with the story through graphics. The flexible relationship between Accra and the regions has produced a situation where hardly any news is filed from the regions. When an event taking place outside Accra is considered to be of importance, often, a news team is dispatched from Accra to cover the story. Ninety percent (90%) of the local stories originated from Accra with the remaining 10% distributed across four other regions. No stories came from the remaining five regions.

A combination of factors, including the location of the political, financial and economic capital in Accra, competition from other news outlets and the news gathering process itself, works against the inclusion of news from the rest of the country. With the headquarters of many businesses located in Accra, there is no shortfall of events. In addition, the week opens with brisk government activities that take a break at the weekend. The newsroom receives daily requests for coverage of these activities. It is easier and cheaper to assign reporters to cover these 'auto-news-generating events' in Accra. The events are characterized by speeches and presentations that can easily be edited together with interviews to file a story. The news reporting techniques (see Appendix C) show that news is routinely produced in this way. The losers are the human interest stories and regional stories, which gain prominence when political and official government activities go down during the weekend. As the Editor explains:

It's not a deliberate policy not to include stories from the regions. We do include stories from the regions as much as possible. But you see, GBC is not like the private stations. We have an obligation to explain government policies and programs to the people. And so it just happens that when the President makes a major policy statement, we can't leave that for other stories (Interview, News Editor).

The office of the President has a dedicated cameraman and a reporter. Other teams are also assigned to cover programs of the ministries and departments. The speed with which regional stories get to Accra works against their inclusion in the lineup. The newsroom is yet to tap into the potential of ICTs where an intranet becomes the preferred choice for transmitting and

even editing stories in real time. Videos from the regions can also be uploaded and downloaded with ease. The courier service guarantees that stories eventually get to Accra, but the speed and immediacy of contemporary news reporting, brought about by advances in technology and led by the proliferation of FM stations in Ghana means that regional television news stories are often very dated by the time they reach Accra. Inevitably, current news stories produced in Accra knock off older regional news stories. Regional stories find more space when the political heat in Accra goes down, especially, during the weekend. These are usually human interest stories. In the analyzed week, the stories that were filed from the regions were on revamping science resource centers for secondary schools, the achievements of the Akropong School for the blind and the challenges facing the Ho leprosarium. All these were part of the Saturday news. Throughout the week, the only other times that stories from outside of Accra featured in the news were on Wednesday and Thursday; the arrest of armed robbers and activities of the Catholic church from Tamale and Nandom respectively.

Actors in the News

As mentioned before, the principle of universalism does not only relate to the reach of transmission but also access to the television platform. The range of issues covered and the voices heard give an indication of how much of the news is about ‘ordinary’ people and how much they contribute to public debate. Public debate is enriched by the multiplicity of views and impoverished by the absence of different opinions. The findings presented in Table 6.6 reveal that GTV news is dominated by elite actors.

Table 6.6: Main Actors in the News Reports

Day	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Known	87.5	92.9	81.8	85.7	81.8	33.3
Unknown	12.5	7.1	18.2	14.3	18.2	66.7
Total % (N=81)	100					

‘Ordinary’ people found space and time in stories that had to do with negative practices, the weather and fashion. ‘Ordinary’ is used not to diminish the standing of these people, but to distinguish them from the well known personalities in society. The general tendency was to interview ‘ordinary’ people on ‘non-serious’ issues such as why they opt for certain hairstyles or how they are coping with the dry winds blowing from the Sahara. The other

situations where ‘ordinary’ people found space in the news were coverage of school programs where the voices of, for example, blind students were included in the news. On issues of governance, economics and finance, their voices were missing. These areas seem to be the preserve of prominent people in society, that is, politicians, medical doctors, managers, professors and people who generally occupy high positions on the social ladder. Heads of religious institutions also played a good role in commenting on national issues. The only time that ‘ordinary people had the opportunity to comment on politics, it was about their expectations of Barack Obama, the newly elected president of the United States of America.

Political actors dominate the news. The newsroom’s assumptions about its public service role, found in its understanding of section 9(1) (c) of the NLCD 226 drives its heavy coverage of government (Interviews, GTV). All these news stories were straight reports of positive stories about government activities with no single story examining government claims in relation to conditions on the ground. The nature and the framing of news stories, therefore, close any window of opportunity for ‘ordinary’ people to express themselves. If news stories are representations of reality, it will be useful for public knowledge, to offer different perspectives in addition to the official line. Without that, GTV news will only reinforce, if not become an instrument for propagating mainstream ideas that eventually gain acceptance as ‘natural’ to the neglect of alternative viewpoints or discourse. The newsroom maintains that it is guided by the merits of each news story; its news worthiness and its contribution to public information (Interviews, GTV). Public officials are in the news regularly for the simple reason that “government is a natural newsmaker because the wheels of government are in constant motion” (Interview, News Editor). GTV’s language policy is also a major source of exclusion. One in four Ghanaians is illiterate and the remaining three quarters have varying levels of proficiency in the English language. With English as the only spoken language, a lack of fluency means exclusion from the news. As it stands, the voices of the known minority have drowned out the contributions of the unknown majority.

The News and Gender

The NMC (n.d.: 15(j)) Broadcasting Standards urges broadcasters to avoid presenting women in a “negative and stereotyped image.” The week under discussion does not paint a picture of adequate and positive representation of female actors in the news. In spite of conscious political efforts to improve the standing of women in society like the establishment of the Women and Juvenile Unit in 1998 and the Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs in 2001, women continue to remain on the fringes of society and this is reflected in the

Primetime News. There is a socially and culturally constructed distinction between the roles of men and women, which put women in ‘lower’ position. This distinction is typified by a report on 24 January, 2009, when the causes of a severe weather phenomenon is explained by a male expert (meteorologist) whilst female actors (petty traders) comment on how they are dealing with the uncomfortable cold and dry winds. In table 6.7 below, the voices of women are comparatively excluded from the news.

Table 6.7: Percentage of Male and Female Actors

Day	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Male	87.5	100.0	69.2	57.1	90.9	52.9
Female	12.5	0.0	15.4	42.9	9.1	47.1
Total % (N=83)	100					

From government officials to managers, the main actors in the stories have been predominantly male; a high of one hundred percent on 20 January, 2009 to a low of about fifty-three percent on 24 January, 2009. There were conscious attempts to include voices of ‘model’ women on issues as health (a medical doctor on 21 January, 2009), marketing and finance (two bank managers on 22 January, 2009), education (a university professor and an educationist on 22 & 24 January, 2009 respectively). With the exception of these and a member of parliament who appeared in the news on several days by virtue of her spokesperson position, all the other female actors were in ‘soft’ stories and the images presented of them were not that of a position of authority and success, but of weakness and poverty, reflecting the overall place of the woman in the Ghanaian society as being on the periphery of social and economic power.

The News and Commercialization

An important issue this thesis set out to investigate was how the policy environment is shaping broadcast practice. Chapter four revealed the lack of a proper framework to guide the commercial activities of GTV. One area that showcases the consequences of inadequate regulations is the *GTV Primetime News*.

The *Primetime News* is a high earning program on GTV. It uses several tools to generate revenue including sponsorship, product mention, graphics and advertisement. The screen has the logo of the sponsoring company placed on the opposite side of GTV’s logo

giving it an equal position of strength and essentially sharing ownership of the news with GTV.

In addition, there is product mention by the anchors when they link one segment to another and sometimes between stories: “The *Primetime News* is brought to you by ...” (News Anchors).

The news program also makes use of crawlers: the news bar and the advertisement bar. The news bar provides news summaries and the advertisement bar provides advertiser’s information. The crawlers run throughout the program except during commercial breaks and the weather report.

Within the *Primetime News*, breaks for advertisements come after every three to five stories. Each story is about two and a half minutes long and the advertisements have an average of forty-five seconds. The breaks contain five to seven adverts. Between the segments, there are one to three advertisements bringing the total number of adverts within the hour to twenty-nine (29) on Monday and Tuesday, twenty-six (26) on Wednesday, twenty-seven (27) on Thursday, thirty-one (31) on Friday and twenty (20) on Saturday.

The high number of advertisements in the news has implications for journalistic work and viewing experience. Journalists have to bear the news structure in mind when filling stories. More importantly, concerns about independence, impartiality, conflict of interest and trust arise. For instance, how can viewers be sure that the news is not to promote the interests of sponsoring organizations when there is evidence that the sponsor of the weather report dictated the feel and look of the presentation? How would GTV handle a potentially damaging story about its sponsors? How would it report a dispute between its sponsors and a rival company? An example of what raises concerns about commercializing public service television news can be found on 23 January 2009. One of the afternoon’s *News Highlights* programs was only about Zain Telecom, the main sponsor of the *Primetime News*. Through the *News Highlights*, GTV provided the platform for Zain Telecom to launch the addition of video telephone calls to its services. This was carried live in the form of a video telephone interview with the marketing manager of Zain Telecom. During the business segment of the *Primetime News*, a recorded version of the launch was played back.

The large number of viewers the *Primetime News* commands is high attraction for sponsors and advertisers. The interesting paradox is that advertisements are squeezing out the news stories that attracted the viewers in the first place. The demand for “more time for the news” (Nkwantabisa, 2008: 9) by viewers may very well be a sign that if the trend

continues, GTV news can lose its audience. Nkwantabisa complained that “it appears GTV runs so many advertisements during its news broadcasts that they begin to look like advertising cycles” (ibid). GTV’s response was and is always short and simple: We have bills to pay (Interviews, GTV). Even though placing advertisements within the news is a clear contravention of NMC’s Broadcasting Standards provisions 19(i) and 19(iii) (a), the lack of enforcement gives GTV the leeway. The extreme form of commercialization is reflected in the weather report, which blurs the lines between promoting a product and presenting the news.

The Commission’s Broadcasting Standards 19(iii) (a) allows for the sponsorship of the weather report, but adverts are required to be clearly identified and distinguished from the rest of the program 19(1). The practice is different. The name of the weather segment includes the name of the sponsor, ‘Wienco’, and throughout the report, there are messages about Wienco products either as spoken words or animated texts. After the anchor introduces “The Wienco Weather Report”, there is an advertiser’s message of both picture and sound about an agrochemical. Then there is the signature tune of the weather report, which is essentially an advertisement of the product showing its uses. This ends with another audiovisual message from the advertiser, this time telling you where to find the product. The report itself is presented in a voice over the map of Ghana with graphics indicating the weather information. However, attention is taken away from the weather information by a brightly lit 3D logo of the sponsor that continuously spins on its axis in the foreground of the screen. After the report, there is another version of how to use the agrochemical followed by yet another audiovisual message and then two more advertisements on different products by the sponsoring company. At the end of the presentation, it is not clear if the weather information was used to illustrate how to use an agrochemical or the report was simply on the weather. Previous sponsors of the report have had their advertisements placed at the beginning and at the end of the report. However, this sponsor insisted on completely branding the report. Although objections were raised in the newsroom, commerce eventually had its way (Interviews, GTV).

Conclusion

The distribution of programs on GTV's program schedules and the strategies behind scheduling practices were looked at in this chapter. It emerged that the channel is retreating from program production. Scheduling is increasingly determined by the economic logic. This is in spite of the fact that maintaining editorial and creative control is critical to putting together a mix of programs that take into account the entire population and covers the widest spectrum of tastes and interests. GTV today has creative and editorial control of less than half of all programs broadcast, because it is engaged in the practice of selling airtime to practically anybody who has a program to air and money to spend. As a result, although program schedules show variety, there is a high proportion of entertainment programs and low amount of the kinds of programs that have low sponsor attraction. Programs that have no economic returns are taken off the air without regard for their social, cultural or political benefits.

A healthy amount of its airtime is filled by local productions but foreign content still takes up a good amount of space and time either as rebroadcasts or copycats of foreign programs.

GTV produces all its news programs. It does not rely on external agencies for local stories. However, contrary to claims of being of national character, news programs reflect urban stories neglecting the rest of the country. The stories are mainly political, elitist and concentration on events in the capital, Accra.

These and many challenges not covered in this study present many opportunities for GTV to be turned into a proper public service broadcaster. In its present configuration and output, the term public service broadcasting does not accurately describe the national channel. What needs to be done for GTV to function effectively as a true public service broadcaster is discussed in the final chapter.

7. Conclusions

GTV and the Public Service Concept

In a multicultural Ghanaian society with endemic poverty and low literacy levels, the role of public service television in fostering a sense of unity, providing enlightenment and nourishment is critical to its democratic development. This thesis set out to find out whether and how GTV is able to function effectively as a public service broadcaster in the face of political and commercial pressures. To do so required an examination of GTV's programming practices. But examining programs alone was not enough because that would be putting too much confidence in the will and ability of producers and editors to faithfully determine what constitutes public service television through program making. It would also be ignoring the fact that a mix of financial and political pressures means that the allocation of resources and program output is not determined simply by the independent, professional judgments of producers and editors, but is the result of many tradeoffs involving competing logics. Therefore, the regulatory environment, how it shapes the broadcast institution and its implications for programming was also looked at.

This was framed within the public service broadcasting concept. The concept describes both an institution and a kind of programming. Therefore, it helped, first, to look for specific characteristics in GTV and second, it formed the basis for analyzing GTV's programming. Even though the concept does not have a universal application, it may be understood by an inductive or a deductive approach, where the former looks to history and the latter ascribes a libertarian or authoritarian vision to public service broadcasting. A division between the libertarian and authoritarian visions may not be necessary in broadcast practice because either vision addresses different aspects of the same concept. Looking to history leaves no doubt that at the institutional level, public service broadcasting is intended to function as an independent public body with guaranteed sources of funds in order not to be susceptible to pressures from government, commercial or vested interests (Scannell, 1990; McDonnell, 1991; Syvertsen, 1992). The libertarian vision for broadcasting emphasizes the independence of public service broadcasting by rejecting state-run or market-run broadcasting in favor of a model that is non-state and non-commercial, but primarily committed to the public interest (Collins, 2004). Commitment to the public interest is realized through public service programming by imposing certain obligations on PSB with the view of achieving specific social goals. The notion that broadcasting must necessarily

serve social needs, means overall programming is expected to be non-discriminatory, amuse and enlighten, foster a sense of national identity and at the same time reflect the diversity found in society (Collins, 2004; WRTC/UNESCO, 2000). This is what the authoritarian vision emphasizes.

Ideally, this should distinguish PSB from state broadcasting, in which the medium is controlled by the state and is basically used to advance the image of political power, and commercial broadcasting, in which the medium is a money-making tool. This ideal is eluding GTV as, on the one hand, commercial activities gain prominence and on the other hand, government seeks to gain influence. The discussions in the previous chapters have shown that the combined threats of both commercialization and political pressure have forced GTV into a situation which makes it difficult to describe the channel as public service television.

Good Laws and Policies Beget a Good Institution

The discussions in chapters four, five and six have shown that there is a relationship between policy and practice. The right policy mix, therefore, becomes an imperative. Although good policies may not be considered a panacea, the question, *what legal and policy framework does GTV operate in*, was posed earlier with the underlying belief that explicit policies are a prerequisite for a well functioning public service broadcaster. GTV was set up based on the existing structure of the BBC and it remained a state funded monopoly until the 1990s. It operates on a decree dating back to 1968, but technological, political and economic changes have eroded the assumptions underlying this decree. The decree takes television for granted as a public monopoly. It does not address in clear details the public service objects of GTV and fails to define a funding framework, thereby leaving GTV's funding and programming to be subject to interpretation. Subsequent laws and amendments on funding did little to correct the situation because they dealt with only one aspect of funding, the TV licensing fee, leaving GTV to explore income generating activities as it deemed fit. Meanwhile, political, technological and economic changes have opened up the broadcast industry and exposed GTV to competition and increased pressure to deliver on its responsibilities. How then does the existing *legal and policy environment facilitate broadcast operations*? Ghana television's legal mandate, to put it plainly, is **obsolete** and needs urgent replacement to strengthen its autonomy, clarify funding issues and provide guidance in the area of programming.

The autonomy of GTV is paramount. The establishment of an independent Commission to serve as a buffer between the state and the broadcast institution is laudable but aspects of the Commission's mandate and how it is constituted leave critical questions about its power and ability to carry out its work. The appointment of Commissioners lack transparency and its varied representation undermines its expertise on broadcast regulation. In addition, there are many political appointees on the commission thereby moving it uncomfortably close to political authority and possible influence. Apart from this, GTV is still technically under a government ministry and this administrative link needs severance or clarification to avoid the occasional friction between the Commission and government.

Autonomy is also tied to its mode of funding. In this regard, the components of GTV's financial structure – government grants, license fee and commercial sources – have their relative merits. There is a tendency of governments to use funding to lean on the broadcaster as seen in the attempts to interfere in the operations of GTV ostensibly for accountability purposes. A potentially effectively funding source, the license fee has been neglected in both setting a realistic rate and collection. The fee needs to have an inbuilt mechanism to self-adjust to inflation in a new law that also provides for a mandatory, periodic review by GTV and not a government Ministry, subject to the approval of parliament. Without this, GTV is increasingly relying on commercial sources of funds through sponsorship, advertisements and other income generating activities that have implications for its editorial and creative independence and its overall ability to function effectively as a proper public service broadcaster.

Key among these functions is the ability to provide its services to the entire population. In this area, GTV is quite strong but it can do better. Its strength lays in its presence across the country by the courtesy of a nationwide network of transmitters. Where it needs to improve is the upgrading of transmission equipment to provide stronger signals. This requires capital investments, which invariable must come from public funds, commercial sources or both. Apart from free-to-air access, private cable companies must be compelled by law to carry the public service broadcasting channels. In the area of programming, GTV needs to include regional content even if it means increasing its program production levels. Access to guaranteed sources of funds is critical. Given the current situation, government subvention is not likely to increase and commercial activities will continue to take center stage. It has been discussed that this has an inverse relationship with 'unprofitable' public service programming, yet nothing less is expected of GTV than public service.

Programming Obligations

Generally, public service television is expected to deliver credible and reliable information that will enlighten citizens. Its platform is also expected to be open to all voices so that the public can listen to all sides and form their own opinions. Innovation and high standards are key features and programs need to be national in character, addressing national interests while providing for the needs of specific groups (WRTC/UNESCO, 2000). The crucial question is, are these normative expectations met? *What types of programs does GTV broadcast?* The discussions in chapter six showed that public service programming has some way to go to meet these expectations for a number of reasons.

GTV lacks creative and editorial control over more than half of its broadcasts. It has retreated from program production and relies more on independents for program supply without maintaining creative and editorial control. This is the result of a commercialization process that has increasingly relied on economic value to determine which programs are transmitted rather than the benefits accruing to society. Such a criterion undermines its own legitimacy, because it cannot justify its right to privileged funding if its driving assumptions about programming are no different from that of commercial television. Certainly, GTV pursues mixed programming and some of its programs target minority groups and do not always aim at popular audiences. However, this is a balancing act that GTV does not or is not willing to get right due to survival concerns. The economic logic, therefore, displaces other logics in making programming decisions and its most important time slots are taken up by sponsored, in-house programs or controlled by independent producers who have bought and paid for the airtime. Of course, GTV may have the final say to broadcast a program, but its influence on content is limited to rejections based on technical grounds.

The loss of creative and editorial control also raises questions about GTV's ability to foster and promote a sense of national identity. Although it has resisted the inflow of foreign programs, the recent trend of series, magazine shows and reality TV shows the localization of foreign programs by simple substitution of setting and performers, while the influx of foreign soaps and rebroadcast of international news channels like DW-TV, CNN and WorldNet Television are evidence of program imports. These programs carry the codes and values of the originating countries and raise concerns of hegemony and negative cultural imports (Sey, 1999). The corrective policies of the GNMP and the NMC's Broadcasting Standards are largely not enforced.

Even though these policies are grounded in cultural and national development objectives and they recognize the important contribution public service television can make towards these aspirations, they stop short of being prescriptive on public service programming. This leaves GTV with the formal characteristics of public service television but no guidance on how to meet broad national goals while at the same time reflecting the diversity of society. It is a delicate balance that may never be achieved because ideas of public service broadcasting were formulated around assumptions of citizenship (Dahlgren, 1995) with common interests. But fault lines develop when this is put to test in the multi ethno-linguistic Ghanaian society with pronounced social economic and educational differences, confirming earlier observations by Orgeret (2006) and Syvertsen (1992) that fragmentation poses a particular challenge to public service television in a multicultural society and perhaps the concept needs rethinking and recalibration to suit such societies.

Interestingly, the very fact of difference lends more credence to the need for an institutionalized public service television in Ghana for the simple reason that the profit motive of commercial television is a powerful tool of exclusion. Therefore, implementation of the concept cannot be left to a loose collection of commercial channels. Without the pressure to make profit, public service television can be all inclusive. However, the content analyses of the GTV schedules revealed remarkable imbalances in programming. Entertainment programs make a high contribution to the mix reflecting the exact opposite of other program categories like Youth and Gender, Documentary, Education and Sports.

Examining the news also showed urban and elitist orientation, if not in story types then in the actors featured. It generally lacks a national character and can be described as more centralized in scope, not merely because of news sources, but also the subjects covered. The nation, as represented in the news, was therefore symbolized by the capital, Accra and revolved around politics, again drawing into question the concept of universal citizenship from which GTV draws one of its bylines, the “Station of the Nation.”

The *Primetime News* itself is evidence of the extent of commercialization. As has been discussed, the advent of competition forced GTV to restructure its news. The introduction of segmentation, shorter news stories, different sets and ‘improved’ presentation styles was not simply to up production values, but also to increase its attractiveness to viewers and importantly, advertisers. GTV got what it wanted. The news attracted sponsorship and is ridden with advertisements. In addition, it is branded with the product of the main sponsor. Sponsors are known to go to the extent of influencing the look and feel of

segments. If PSB should not be too close to government, because it compromises the credibility of the information it broadcasts (Buckley et al, 2008), then it can neither submit itself to commercial interests for the same reasons. The sponsorship of the *Primetime News* raises legitimate concerns about the impartiality of the news, leaving unanswered questions about the informational role of GTV. This leads to the all important question, *what will it take to turn GTV into a proper public service broadcaster?*

To be or not to be – the Way Forward for GTV

Public service television aims at democratizing the media (Keane, 1991). This includes making the platform available to the different voices in society to express their views. It means not limiting public discussion to certain categories of people or restricting the discussion to issues concerning a few. Generally, it means opening up the public space, not narrowing it. The analyses indicate that GTV needs to do a lot more to open up the public space. The unwillingness of political authority to let go of its influence and the imperative of commercialization as a means of survival seem to put GTV in a position where it is suffering identity and legitimacy crises. Its character does not show that of a state, commercial or public service broadcaster. It is more of a public commercial broadcaster.

GTV needs to give meaning to its vision and mission, which should resonate in every corridor and at every level of decision making. Mission statements and visions need to be backed with specific goals that aim at achieving specific targets. The view held here is that regulation must go beyond describing how GTV should be organized and be prescriptive in the services it should provide as well. It is acknowledged, however, that too much regulation goes against the spirit of the libertarian vision for public service broadcasting and can stifle growth and innovation. Once again, the keyword is ‘balance’.

GTV can function properly as a public service broadcaster if a combination of measures is taken. The first is legislative. A new legislation that takes into account views of experts, GBC staff and the general public must articulate a clear vision for public service television to give GTV a sense of direction. Such legislation needs to define GTV’s remit in clear terms and provide for the establishment of internal and external accountability mechanisms to ensure that GTV sticks to its mandate. Lessons can be drawn from the practice in the Netherlands (Bardoel, d’Haenens & Peeters, 2005). The new legislation must offer further protections to editors and producers so that they can effectively resist pressure from political and vested interests. It also means clarifying GTV’s relationship with the MoI

and establishing a clear framework for funding where public funding is guaranteed and limits on commercial funding are imposed. Such legislation needs to cure the void created by the lack of cooperation and coordination of the activities of the NCA responsible for licensing and NMC, which is supposed to regulate content. The possibility of issuing a broadcast license similar to the BBC's Royal Charter and tying the renewal of the license to GTV's performance can be explored.

Second, as audiences fragment and competition increases in today's multi-channel environment, GTV invariably has to modernize its operations. Developments in information and communications technologies open up many distribution possibilities. The principle of universality can be taken further by exploring live streaming of TV programs and video-on-demand. This can potentially expand program supply by including additional programs that did not find space on the transmission schedule. These can be promoted on its main broadcasts. Guidelines are required though, to ensure that the Internet does not become the distribution option for minority programs while popular programs are lined up for the main broadcast. The Internet also offers endless possibilities in news gathering. If properly managed, it can improve GTV's regional news content overnight. In addition, it can provide information about schedules by making synopses and promos of upcoming programs available online. It is beyond understanding that to date, GTV does not have a website of its own.

Finally, existing regulations need to be enforced. There is a huge gap between policy and practice. To paraphrase the Executive Secretary of the National Media Commission, regulations are useless if there is no intention to implement them. With these measures in place, GTV can truly function as the "Station of the Nation."

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Appendix A: Analyzed Transmission Schedules: 19 - 25 Jan 2009

Day/ Time	Monday 19 Jan 2009	Tuesday 20 Jan 2009	Wednesday 21 Jan 2009	Thursday 22 Jan 2009	Friday 23 Jan 2009	Saturday 24 Jan 2009	Sunday 25 Jan 2009
4.55	Station ID	Station ID	Station ID	Station ID	Station ID	Station ID	Station ID
5.00	WorldNet	WorldNet	WorldNet	WorldNet	WorldNet	WorldNet	WorldNet
5.30	Gospel Trail	Gospel Trail	Catholic Digest	Pentecost Hour	Pranic Healing	Eckanka	Voice of Healing
6.00	Breakfast Show	Breakfast Show	Breakfast Show	Breakfast Show	Breakfast Show	Synagogue	Apostolic Heritage
6.30						Hour of Restoration	Encounter with Truth
7.00						Gospel Trail	Voice of Healing
7.30						Winning Ways	Apostolic Voice
8.00						Big Breakfast Show	Channel of Hope
8.30	DW-TV	DW-TV	DW-TV	DW-TV	Paid Music		
9.00	PSI-DL	Musicals	PSI-DL	Sportlite	Asem Sebe	Barney	Cartoons
9.30							
10.00	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights		Children's Channel	News Highlights
10.05	PSI-DL (ctd)	Documentary – CFI	PSI-DL (ctd)	Musicals			
10.30					DW-TV		
11.00	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights
11.05	Musicals	Cartoons	Afro TV	Cartoons	Musicals	National Science & Maths Quiz	Things We Do for Love
11.30							Musicals
11.45					Movie	News	
12.00	Expedition to the animal Kingdom	Total Football (r)	Midday Movie – Seseira	Midday Movie		News	News
12.30	Business Advocate (r)						Opening the Way to a Better Future
1.30	Musicals				Enye Easy	Quiz-What Do You Know	
2.00	News	News	News	News	News	Our Children Our Future	Drama-Ananse
2.30	Business Africa	Movie	Words of Peace	Ad Forum	Taxes & Duties	This Week	
3.00	Imagine Ghana		Local Drama - Ewe (r)	Business Advocate -Live	Cartoons	Children of Today	
3.30							Documentary-ECG
4.00	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights		News Highlights
4.05	Scripts Spelling Bee	Musicals - James Brown	EPL Highlights	PSI-DL (r) (ctd)	Islam & Life		Ooh Baby!
4.30		Inauguration of President Elect Obama			Aqua Vitens Rand		Borges Health Check
4.45					Documentary – Sidalco		

5.00	News Highlights		News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights		News Highlights
5.05	Regional Diary		Impact ECOWAS	PSI-DL (r)	Friday Flash		Aqua Vitens Rand
5.30	Jamming Reggae		Musicals			Documentary - Sidalco	
5.45							
6.00	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights	News Highlights	News in Hausa	News Highlights	News Highlights
6.05	Adult Education (Akan)	Adult Education (Dagbani)	Adult Education (Ga)	Adult Education (Ewe)	Adult Education (Nzema)	Clean Ghana Campaign	A Servant of God
6.30	Announcements	Announcements	Announcements	Announcements	Staying Alive	Inside Out	Efiewura
6.45	News in Akan	News in Dagbani	News in Ga	News in Ewe	News in Nzema		
7.00	News	News	News	News	News	News	News
7.30							Talking Point - Live
8.00	Sports Highlights	Mmaa Nkomo	Investment Digest	Possibility Forum	NAL Draw	Rythmz	
8.15			It Takes Two	On The Ball	Stand Point		
8.30					Aqua Vitens Rand	Secret	Chief's Palace
9.00		Documentary – Sidalco					
9.15							
9.30	Aqua Vitens Rand	Hot Bench	Aqua Vitens Rand	Faith Talk	Yes Matron		
9.45	Documentary - Sidalco		Documentary – Sidalco				
10.00	Ana	Ana	Ana	Ana	Ana	Eve	Late News
10.30	Late News	Late News	Late News	Late News	Comedy 101		
10.45					Late News		
11.00	Healing Jesus Crusade	Musicals	Way of Life	Musicals	Late News	Late Movie	Power in His Presence
11.15	Musicals		Friday Flash (r)				DW-TV
11.30		DW-TV		DW-TV			
12.00							
12.30	DW-TV						
1.00	Close Down	Close Down	Close Down	Close Down	Close Down	Close Down	Close Down

Appendix B: GTV Program Sources, Duration and Categories

Monday 19 January, 2009			
Program	Source	Duration(Mins)	Category
Station ID			
WorldNet	USA	30	News
Gospel Trail	In-house	30	Religion
the Breakfast Show	In-house	150	Public Affairs
DW-TV	Europe	30	News
PSI-DL	Independent	120	Education
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Local Musicals	Independent	55	Entertainment
Expedition to the Animal Kingdom	Europe	30	Documentary
The Business Advocate (r)	Local collaboration	60	Current Affairs
Musicals	Independent	30	Entertainment
News	In-house	30	News
Business Africa	Independent	30	Current Affairs
Imagine Africa	Independent	60	Youth
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Scripts Spelling Bee	Independent	55	Education
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Regional Diary	In-house	25	Current Affairs
Jamming Reggae	Independent	30	Entertainment
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Adult Education (Akan)	In-house	25	Education
Announcements	In-house	15	Public Affairs
News in Akan	In-house	15	News
News	In-house	60	News
Sports Highlights	In-house	90	Sports
Aqua Vitens Rand	Independent	15	Documentary
Sidalco	Independent	15	Documentary
Ana	USA	30	Entertainment
Late News	In-house	30	News
Healing Jesus Crusade	Independent	30	Religion
Musicals	Independent	30	Entertain
DW-TV	Europe	30	News

Tuesday, 20 January, 2009			
Program	Source	Duration (Mins)	Category
Station ID		5	
WorldNet	USA	30	News
Gospel Trail	In-house	30	Religion
Breakfast Show	In-house	150	Public Affairs
DW-TV	Europe	30	News
Musicals	Independent	60	Entertainment
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
CFI Documentary	Independent	55	Documentary
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Cartoons	USA	55	Children
Total Football (r)	Europe	120	Sports
News	In-house	30	News
Movie	USA	90	Entertainment
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Musicals	USA	25	Entertainment
Obama's Inauguration	USA	90	Current Affairs
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Adult Education Dagbani	In-house	25	Education
Announcements	In-house	15	Public Affairs
News in Dagbani	In-house	15	News
News	In-house	60	News
Mmaa Nkomo	Independent	60	Women
Aqua Vitens Rand	Independent	15	Documentary
Sidalco	Independent	15	Documentary
Hot Bench	Independent	30	Entertainment
Ana	USA	30	Entertainment
Late news	In-house	30	News
Musicals	Independent	60	Entertainment
DW-TV	Europe	60	News

Wednesday, 21 January, 2009			
Program	Source	Duration(Mins)	Category
Station ID		5	
WorldNet	USA	30	News
Catholic Digest	Independent	30	Religion
the Breakfast Show	In-house	150	Public Affairs
DW-TV	Europe	30	News
PSI-DL	Independent	60	Education
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
PSI-DL	Independent	55	Education
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Afro TV	Independent	25	Public Affairs
Regional Diary (r)	In-house	25	Public Affairs
Midday Movie	F-USA	120	Entertainment
News	In-house	30	News
Words of Peace	Independent	30	Religion
Local Drama (r) Ewe	In-house	60	Entertainment
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
EPL Highlight	F-Europe	55	Sports
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Impact ECOWAS	Independent	25	Documentary
Musicals	Independent	30	Entertainment
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Adult Education in Ga	In-house	25	Education
Announcements	In-house	15	Public Affairs
News in Ga	In-house	15	News
News	In-house	60	News
Investment Digest	Independent	30	Public Affairs
It Takes Two	Independent	30	Entertainment
Secret	Independent	30	Entertainment
Aqua Vitens Rand	Independent	15	Documentary
Sidalco	Independent	15	Documentary
Ana	USA	30	Entertainment
Late News	In-house	30	News
Way of Life	Independent	30	Religion
Friday Flash (r)	In-house	60	Entertainment
DW-TV	Europe	30	News

Thursday, 22 January, 2009			
Program	Source	Duration(Mins)	Category
Station ID		5	
WorldNet	USA	30	News
Pentecost Hour	Independent	30	Religion
Breakfast Show	In-house	150	Public Affairs
DW-TV	Europe	30	News
Sportlite	Independent	60	Sport
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Musicals	Independent	55	Entertainment
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Cartoons	USA	55	Children
Midday Movie	Independent	120	Entertainment
News	In-house	30	News
Ad Forum	Independent	30	Public Affairs
The Biz Advocate	Independent	60	Public Affairs
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
PSI-DL	Independent	55	Education
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
PSI-DL	Independent	55	Education
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Adult Education Ewe	In-house	25	Education
Announcements	In-house	15	Public Affairs
News –Ewe	In-house	15	News
News	In-house	60	News
Possibility Forum	Independent	30	Public Affairs
On the Ball	Independent	30	Sports
Chief's Palace	Local collaboration	30	Entertainment
Faith Talk	Independent	30	Religion
Ana	USA	30	Entertainment
Late news	In-house	30	News
Musicals	Independent	60	Entertainment
DW-TV	Europe	60	News

Friday, 23 January, 2009

Program	Source	Duration (Mins)	Category
Station ID		5	
WorldNet	USA	30	News
Pranic Healing	Independent	30	Religion
the Breakfast Show	In-house	150	Public Affairs
DW-TV	Europe	30	News
Asem Sebe	Local collaboration	90	Public Affairs
Bundesliga Kick Off	Europe	30	Sports
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Musicals	Independent	40	Entertainment
Movie	USA	105	Entertainment
Enye Easy	Independent	30	Entertainment
News	In-house	30	News
Taxes and Duties	Independent	30	Current Affairs
Cartoon	USA	30	Children
Expedition to Animal Kingdom	Europe	30	Documentary
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Islam and Life	Independent	25	Religion
Aqua Vitens Rand	Independent	15	Documentary
Sidalco	Independent	15	Documentary
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Friday Flash	In-house	55	News
News Hausa	In-house	5	Entertainment
Adult Education in Nzema	In-house	25	News
Staying Alive	Independent	15	Current Affairs
News –Nzema	In-house	15	Documentary
News	In-house	60	News
NLA Draw	Independent	15	News
Standpoint	Independent	45	Women
Clean Ghana - Doc	Independent	30	Documentary
Yes Matron	Independent	30	Entertainment
Ana	USA	30	Entertainment
Comedy 101	USA	15	Entertainment
Late News	In-house	30	News
Counseling Session	In-house	105	Religion

Saturday, 24 January, 2009			
Program	Source	Duration (Mins)	Category
Station ID		5	
WorldNet	USA	30	News
Eckanka	Independent	30	Religion
Synagogue	Africa	30	Religion
Hour of Restoration	Independent	30	Religion
Gospel Trail	Independent	30	Religion
Winning Ways	Independent	30	Religion
the Breakfast Show	Independent	90	Current Affairs
Barney	USA	30	Children
Children's Channel	In-house	60	Children
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
National Science & Math Quiz	Independent	55	Education
News	In-house	30	News
Opening the Way to a Better Future	Independent	90	Documentary
This Week	In-house	60	News
Children of Today	Independent	150	Education
Aqua Vitens Rand	Independent	15	Documentary
Sidalco	Independent	15	Documentary
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Campaign	Independent	25	Public Affairs
Inside Out	Independent	30	Current Affairs
News	In-house	60	News
Rhythms	Independent	60	Entertainment
Shark	USA	60	Entertainment
Eve	USA	60	Entertainment
Late Movie	USA	120	Entertainment

Sunday, 25 January, 2009

Program	Source	Duration (Mins)	Category
Station ID		5	
WorldNet	F-USA	30	News
Voice of Healing	Independent	30	Religion
Apostolic heritage	Independent	30	Religion
Encounter with the Truth	Independent	30	Religion
Voice of Inspiration	Independent	30	Religion
Apostolic Voice	Independent	30	Religion
Channel of Hope	Independent	30	Religion
Musicals	Independent	30	Entertainment
Cartoons	Independent	60	Entertainment
News Highlights	Independent	5	News
All of Us	Independent	25	Children
Gospel Trail	In-house	30	Religion
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Things we do for Love	Independent	25	Entertainment
Musicals	Independent	30	Entertainment
News	In-house	30	News
Cantata	In-house	60	Entertainment
What Do You Know	In-house	60	Education
Drama-Ananse	Independent	60	Entertainment
Aqua Vitens Rand	Independent	15	Documentary
Sidalco	Independent	15	Documentary
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Ooh Baby	Independent	25	Entertainment
Borges Health Check	Independent	30	Current Affairs
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
Complete Woman	Independent	25	Women
Musicals	In-house	30	Entertainment
News Highlights	In-house	5	News
A Servant of God	Independent	25	Religion
Efiewura	Independent	30	Entertainment
News	In-house	30	News
Talking Point	In-house	60	Current Affairs

Sidalco	Independent	15	Documentary
Aqua Vitens Rand	Independent	15	Documentary
Obra	In-house	90	Entertainment
Late News	In-house	30	News
Power in His Presence	Independent	30	Religion
Musicals	Independent	30	Entertainment
DW-TV	Europe	60	News

Appendix C: Analyzed Primetime News – 20 January – 24 January

Tuesday, 20 January, 2009					
Story Type	Source	Main Actor	Gender	Designation	Reporting Technique
1. Political - Inauguration of USA President	CSPAN, USA				VO Speech Speech
2. Political	GTV, Accra	Professional Professional Professional Professional	Male Male Male Male	Journalist Dir. Kings Crown Intl Snr. Tax officer Phone dealer	VO Interviews
3. Social - Obama at Presidential ball	USA				VO
4. Political - USA elections	USA				Anchor in VO
5. Social - Courtesy call on President of Ghana	GTV, Accra	Traditional Leader Professional	Male male	Pres. National House of Chiefs President of Ghana	VO Speeches
6. Political	GTV, Accra				Anchor in Studio
7. Development, building workers' capacity.	GTV, Accra	Professor Professional	Male Male	Resource Person Dir. General, GBC	Speeches
8. Political - African Union	GTV, Accra	Politician Politician	Male Male	AU Delegate Vice Pres. of Ghana	Speeches
9. Business, Ghana Stock Ex.	GTV, Accra	Professional	Male	MD Ghana Stock Ex.	Interview
10. Business - Cost of piracy	GTV, Accra	Musician	Male	Local Artiste	Interview
11. Social - Obama election celebration	Kenya				VO
12. Economic – Recession	Brussels				Anchor in Studio
13. Sports - Football	GTV, Accra				Anchor in VO
14. Sports – Football	GTV, Accra				Anchor in VO

15. Sports – Tennis	GTV, Accra	Sports Actor Sports Actor	Male Male	Tennis Coach Tennis Coach	VO Interviews
16. Entertainment - Music	GTV, Accra	Musician		Local Artiste	VO Interview
17. Weather					VO

Wednesday, 21 January, 2009					
Story Type	Source	Main Actor	Gender	Characteristics	Reporting Technique
1. Social – Courtesy call on the President of Ghana	GTV, Accra	Religious Leader Politician	Male Male	Spokesperson of Chief Imam President of Ghana	VO Report Speeches
2. Political	GTV, Accra				Anchor in Studio
3. Economic	GTV, Accra	Politician	Male	MP	VO Report Interview
4. Health	GTV, Accra	Trader Pregnant Woman Professional	Female Female Male	Medical Officer	VO Report Interviews
5. Crime	GTV, Tamale	Professional	Male	Police Commander	VO Report Speech
6. Business – Hospitality industry	GTV, Accra	Hotelier Hotelier	Male Male	Manager, Hotel Manager, Hotel	VO Report Speeches
7. Economic	GTV, Tema	Association Leader	Male		VO Speech
8. Economic - Recession	USA				Anchor in Studio
9. Social – Obama election celebrations	GTV, Accra		Female Male		VO Interviews
10. Social	Kenya				Anchor in Studio
11. Social	USA				VO
12. Political	Gaza				VO
13. Conflict	Uganda				Anchor in VO
14. Sports -	GTV,				Anchor in

Tennis	Accra				Studio
15. Sports - Football	Rwanda				Anchor in Studio
16. Sports - Football	UK				Anchor in VO
17. Sports - Football	GTV, Accra				Anchor in VO
18. Entertainment - Theater	GTV, Accra	Entertainer	Male	Performer	VO Speech
19. Entertainment - Music	Senegal				VO
20. Entertainment - Music	UK				Anchor VO
21. Weather					VO

Thursday, 22 January, 2009					
Story Type	Source	Main Actor	Gender	Characteristics	Reporting Technique
1. Political – Appointments	GTV, Accra				Anchor in Studio
2. Political – Elections	GTV, Accra	Religious Leader	Male	Chairman – National Enforcement body	VO Speech
3. Business – Crude Oil	Foreign				Anchor in VO
4. Political – Government Appointments	GTV, Accra				Anchor in VO
5. Health	GTV, Accra	Professional	Female	Medical Doctor	VO Speech
6. Religious	GTV, Nandom	Religious Leader	Male	Catholic Bishop	VO Speech
7. Social – Launch of program	GTV, Accra	Professional Lecturer Student	Female Female Male	PRO, Zain Lecturer Student	VO Speech Interviews
8. Development	GTV, Accra	Professor	Female	Professor	VO Speech
9. Economic – Recession	US	Anchor	Female		Anchor in VO
10. Development – Construction	GTV, Accra				VO

11. Business – Banking	GTV, Accra	Banker Banker Banker	Female Male Female	Bank Manager General Manager Bank Manager	VO Interviews
12. Technology	USA				Anchor in Studio
13. Social – Fashion	USA				Anchor in Studio
14. Technology	USA				Anchor in Studio
15. Crime	Guinea				Anchor in VO
16. Health	Zimbabwe				Anchor in VO
17. Political	Israel				Anchor in VO
18. Crime	USA				
19. Sports – Football	GTV, Accra	Sports actors	Male Male	Appointment Chairman Referee	VO Interviews
20. Sports – Tennis	GTV, Accra	Sports Actor			Anchor over pix
21. Sports – Football	Foreign				Anchor in Studio
22. Entertainment – Theater	GTV, Accra	Entertainer	Male	Performer	Interview
23. Entertainment – Music	GTV, Accra	Entertainer	Male	Musician	VO Interview
24. Weather					VO

Friday, 23 January, 2009					
Story Type	Source	Main Actor	Gender	Characteristics	Reporting Technique
1. Political – Reducing size of government	GTV, Accra	Government Official	Male	Presidential Spokesman	VO report Interview
2. Economic – Cocoa producer price	GTV, Accra				Anchor in VO
3. Political – Transition	GTV, Accra	Politician Politician	Male Male	Committee member Committee member	Interviews
4. Political	GTV, Accra				Anchor in VO

5. Science - Galileo	Foreign				Anchor in Studio
6. Health - Road safety	GTV, Accra	Professional	Male	CEO, Road Safety Consultancy	VO report Speech
7. Crime - Gruesome murder	Brazil				Anchor in Studio
8. Business	GTV, Accra	Professional Professional	Male Male	CEO, iBrokers GM, Ghana Stock Ex.	VO Speeches
9. Business - Zain promotes a new product	GTV, Accra	Professional	Male	Marketing Manager	Interview
10. Conflict	Congo				Anchor
11. Social - Illegal immigration	Italy				Anchor in VO
12. Sports - Football	GTV, Accra				Anchor in Studio
13. Sports - Football	Rwanda				Anchor in Studio
14. Sports - Football	GTV, Accra				Anchor in Studio
15. Sport - Football	UK				VO
16. Social - Advantages of laughter	GTV, Accra	Professional Student Student Entertainer	Male Male Female Male	Clinical Psychologist Student Student Comedian	VO Interviews
17. Weather					VO

Saturday, 24 January, 2009					
Story Type	Source	Main Actor	Gender	Characteristics	Reporting Technique
1. Education - Science resource	GTV, Tamale	Educationist Chief Executive	Female Male	Head, Science Training, GES CEO, Philips	VO Speeches
2. Education - School for the blind	GTV, Akropong	Educationist Student Student Teacher	Male Male Male Male	Head Teacher Student Student Teacher	VO Interviews
3. Social - Dreadlocks as	GTV, Accra	Salon owner	Female Female		VO Interviews

hairstyle		Customer Customer	Female		
4. Health – Leprosy	GTV, Ho	Religious Leader	Male	Rev. Father	VO Speech
5. Social – Severe harmattan	GTV, Accra	Taxi driver Worker Worker Meteorologist Trader Trader	Male Female Female Male Female Female		VO Interviews Ptc
6. Social – Death of GBC staff	GTV, Accra				Anchor in VO
7. Conflict – Rebel leader arrest	Congo				Anchor in VO
8. Health – Contraception	USA				Anchor in VO
9. Social – Using Obama speeches used for listening practice	Japan				Anchor in VO
10. Crime – Gang violence	Mexico				Anchor in VO
11. Weather – Floods	Brazil				Anchor in VO
12. Sports – Football	Rwanda				Anchor in VO
12. Sports -- Various sports	GTV, Accra				Anchor in VO
13. Social – Role of entertainment at ceremonies	GTV, Accra				VO
14. Social – Goat detained for attempted robbery	Nigeria				Anchor in Studio
15. Weather					VO